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TRANSACTIONS OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE

VOL. LXXIII.

THE MAIL COACH: CHANGING HORSES

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

Lancashire and Cheshire

FOR THE YEAR 1921

VOLUME LXXIII

NEW SERIES—VOLUME XXXVII

LIVERPOOL
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1922

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COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1922

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F. C. BEAZLEY, F.S.A.
HENRY PEET, M.A., F.S.A.
A. H. ARKLE, O.B.E.
F. C. LARKIN, F.R.C.S.
R. STEWART-BROWN, M.A., F.S.A.

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TO SERVE TO END OF 1922.

F. W. BAILEY, D.S.O., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
R. CATON, M.D., F.R.C.P.
WALTER PEEL, C.B.E.
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FRANCIS J. WELD.
E. CUTHBERT WOODS, L.D.S.

TO SERVE TO END OF 1923.

R. GLADSTONE, B.C.L., M.A.
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TO SERVE TO END OF 1924.

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Hon. Librarian.

R. T. BAILEY, M.B.E., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

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Hon. Secretary.

PHILIP NELSON, M.D., F.S.A.
"BEECHWOOD," CALDERSTONES, LIVERPOOL.

Hon. Assistant Secretary.

JAMES A. WAITE.

Hon. Editor.

JOHN BROWNBILL, M.A.

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F. W. BAILEY, D.S.O., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

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Presidents.

1.	Right Hon. Francis, 1st Earl of Ellesmere, Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire	1848
2.	Right Hon. Charles William, 3rd Earl of Sefton, Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire	1854
3.	General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., D.C.L.	1855
4.	Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P.	1863
5.	Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., &c.	1866
6.	Rev. Canon Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.	1869
7.	The Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester	1875
8.	Thomas Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A., &c.	1879
9.	Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Oxford, F.S.A.	1885
10.	Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Chester, D.D.	1889
11.	Right Hon. Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby, K.G., G.C.B., Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire	1903
12.	Right Hon. Edward, 17th Earl of Derby, K. G., G.C.V.O., C.B.....	1908

Secretaries.

1848. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., and H. C. Pidgeon.
1851. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., and Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.
1854. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.

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1855.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	Thomas G. Wedgwood.
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1857.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	J. H. Genn.
1864.	Nicholas Waterhouse.	J. H. Genn.
1867.	David Buxton.	Charles Dyall.
1875.	David Buxton.	Arthur Wakefield.
1876.	David Buxton.	Eugenio Londini.
1877.	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.	Eugenio Londini.
1882.	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.	T. N. Morton.
1884.	E. M. Hance, LL.B. / R. D. Radcliffe, M.A.	T. N. Morton.
1888.	R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.	T. N. Morton.
1892.	R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.	T. N. Morton, W. F. Irvine.
1898.	R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.	W. F. Irvine, Jas. A. Waite.
1903.	W. F. Irvine, M.A., F.S.A.	Jas. A. Waite.
1910.	F. C. Beazley, F.S.A.	Jas. A. Waite.
1914.	Philip Nelson, M.D., F.S.A.	Jas. A. Waite.

Editor.

1911. John Brownbill, M.A.[1]

Treasurers.

1848.	Thomas Avison, F.S.A.	1898.	W. E. Gregson.
1860.	William Burke.	1905.	F. C. Beazley, F.S.A.
1867.	John G. Jacob.	1911.	S. W. Phipps.
1886.	H. D. Eshelby, F.S.A.	1922.	P. C. Brown.

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1848.	Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.		Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.
1851.	Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.		Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.
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1867.	Nicholas Waterhouse.		A. C. Gibson, F.S.A.
1869.	Nicholas Waterhouse.		H. Ecroyd Smith.
1871.	John R. Hughes.		H. Ecroyd Smith.
1875.	John R. Hughes.		J. Harris Gibson.
1876.	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.		J. Harris Gibson.
1877.	E. M. Hance, LL.B.		J. Harris Gibson.
1880.	(*Offices in abeyance.*)		
1885.	W. Thompson Watkin.		J. Harris Gibson.
1886.	W. Thompson Watkin.		W. Forshaw Wilson.
1889.	George T. Shaw.		W. C. Ashby Pritt.
1889.	George T. Shaw.		Charles Potter.
1899.	George T. Shaw.		W. F. Price.
1911.	George T. Shaw.		
1915.	R. T. Bailey, M.B.E., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.		

Assistant Librarians.

1911. James A. Waite. 1922. E. H. Rideout, B.Sc., A.I.C.

[1] Before this date the Secretary was also Editor.

List of Honorary Local Secretaries.

District.	Name.
Burnley	W. Farrer, D.Litt., Whitbarrow Lodge, Grange-over-Sands.
Leigh	W. D. Pink, Public Library, Leigh.
Leyland	The Rev. W. Stuart White, Healey Vicarage, Rochdale.
Ormskirk . . .	James Bromley, J.P., The Homestead, Lathom.
Rainford	The Rev. Canon J. Wright Williams, Farnworth.
Sefton	W. E. Gregson, 43 Moor Lane, Great Crosby.
Whalley and Pendle Hill . .	W. S. Weeks, Westwood, Clitheroe.
Wigan	Sir T. R. Ratcliffe-Ellis, 18 King Street, Wigan.
Wray, near Lancaster	Rev. C. L. Reynolds, M.A., Wray Vicarage, Lancaster.
Darwen and Blackburn . .	J. Pomfret, Public Library, Darwen.

***** The Council would be glad to hear from Gentlemen, not necessarily members of the Society, willing to volunteer as Hon. Local Secretaries for Districts in Lancashire and Cheshire not already provided for.**

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE authors of Papers are alone responsible for the statements and opinions in their several communications.

In our last volume Dr. Nelson gave the blocks for the illustrations for his paper; in the present volume he has also lent one of the blocks. Mr. Hudson has supplied the blocks illustrating his essay.

The present volume has been prepared for the press by J. BROWNBILL, M.A., Honorary Editor.

N.B.—It is requested that notice be given to the Secretary of any errors, change of address, or death.

LIST OF MEMBERS

(*Corrected to 1st January*, 1922)

The names of Life Members are printed in BLACK TYPE.

DATE OF ELECTION

1889. April 4. Abraham, Miss E. C. Riverham, Grassendale Park, Liverpool.
1908. Mar. 5. Accrington Public Library, Accrington.
1910. Nov. 10. Anderton, Henry Ince. Hôtel des Trois Couronnes, Vevey, Switzerland.
1903. Jan. 15. Arkle, A. H., O.B.E., Elmhurst, Oxton, Birkenhead, *Vice-President.*
1888. Mar. 22. Athenæum Library. Liverpool.
1899. Jan. 19. Atkinson, W. J. A. Hillside, Gateacre.
1907. Sept. 16. Aubrey, F. E., L.D.S. 13 Upper Duke Street, Liverpool. *Excursion Committee.*
1890. Jan. 23. Ayrton, William. 10 Dale Street, Liverpool.
1904. Jan. 14. Bailey, F. W., D.S.O., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. 51 Grove Street, Liverpool. *Excursion Committee.*
1904. Jan. 14. Bailey, R. T., M.B.E., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. 51 Grove Street, Liverpool. *Hon. Librarian.*
1918. Jan. 1. Baker, Harold R. P., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. 77 Accrington Road, Blackburn.
1886. Nov. 18. Banner, Sir John S. Harmood, M.P. Aston Hall, Preston Brook, Cheshire.
1912. Jan. 18. Barlow, Miss A. L. 70 West Bank Road, Birkenhead.
1907. Feb. 21. Barrow-in-Furness, Free Library of.
1912. Nov. 21. Barton, S. Saxon. The Beach, St. Michael's Hamlet, Liverpool.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1914. Jan. 29. Barton, S. Saxon, Jun., O.B.E. The Beach, Southwood Road, St. Michael's Hamlet, Liverpool.
1914. Jan. 1. Beazley, Eric B. Oak Dene, Noctorum, Birkenhead.
1899. Feb. 16. Beazley, Frank C., F.S.A. 46 Grosvenor Road, Claughton, Birkenhead. *Vice-President.*
1921. Oct. 27. Bell, G. K. Hillock Cottage, Parbold.
1915. Jan. 28. Benas, Bertram B. B., B.A., LL.B. 5 Princes Avenue, Liverpool.
1913. Oct. 30. Bennett, J. H. E. Cambrian Crescent, Chester.
1918. Oct. 31. Bickerton, H. R., M.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. 88 Rodney Street, Liverpool.
1905. Nov. 2. Bickerton, T. H., M.R.C.S. 88 Rodney Street, Liverpool.
1896. Jan. 16. Birkenhead Free Public Library. Birkenhead.
1889. Oct. 31. Birmingham Central Free Library. Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1870. April 7. Blackburn Free Library. Blackburn.
1921. Nov. 10. Blundell, Rev. Frederick, O.S.B., F.S.A. Scot. St. Anne's Priory, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
1888. Mar. 22. Bodleian Library. Oxford.
1907. Jan. 5. Bolton-le-Moors, Free Public Library of.
1890. Nov. 6. Bootle Free Library. Oriel Road, Bootle.
1888. Mar. 22. Boston Athenæum. Boston, U.S.A. (C/o Messrs. E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.).
1889. Jan. 10. Boston Public Library. Boston, U.S.A. (C/o B. Quaritch, Ltd., 11 Grafton Street, London, W.)
1912. Dec. 19. Bradford Public Library. Bradford.
1891. Nov. 5. British Museum Library. (C/o Messrs. Dulau & Co., 34-36 Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, London, W.1.)
1901. Nov. 7. Bromilow, Henry John. Green Bank, Rainhill.
1914. Jan. 1. Brown, Percy C. 20 Penkett Road, Wallasey. *Hon. Treasurer.*
1905. May 8. Brownbill, John, M.A. 7 Millman Street, London, W.C.1.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1914. Oct. 29. Bunbury, H. J. c/o Boodles, St. James' Street, London, S.W.1.
1910. Feb. 17. Burnett, Miss Eleanor. Devonshire House, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead.
1909. Jan. 21. Burnett, Miss M. Edith. Devonshire House, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead.
1921. Jan. 20. Caldwell, Francis, C.B.E., M.V.O. 11 Devonshire Road, Princes Park, Liverpool.
1889. Feb. 21. Caton, Richard, C.B.E., M.D., LL.D., J.P. 3 Livingston Drive South, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
1913. Nov. 13. Cheers, Frank L. 41 Harthill Avenue, Allerton, Liverpool.
1879. Jan. 9. Chetham's Library. Manchester.
1900. Mar. 29. Chorley Free Public Library. Chorley.
1910. Nov. 10. Clover, Mrs. G. R. Ramlé, Manor Hill, Birkenhead.
1905. April 11. Congress, Library of. Washington, U.S.A. Per Edward G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.)
1902. Nov. 6. Coventry, Harold. 19 Claremont Road, West Kirby.
1915. Feb. 25. Crossley, Frederick H. 19 Shavington Avenue, Hoole, Chester.
1921. Dec. 8. Crowden, George Wm. 3 Menlove Avenue, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.
1906. Mar. 1. Danson, Sir F. C., F.S.A. 74 Bidston Road, Oxton, Birkenhead.
1907. July 15. Darwen Free Library. Darwen.
1895. Nov. 7. De Hoghton, Sir James, Bart. Hoghton Tower, Preston.
1921. Feb. 10. Dodgson, F. P. The Kinders, Arno Road, Oxton, Birkenhead.
1918. Oct. 31. Duveen, James H. Tyn Dwfr Hall, Llangollen.
1920. Feb. 12. Ellis, S. 9 Strand Street, Liverpool.
1901. Feb. 14. Ellsworth, W. S. 11 Park Crescent, Southport.
1910. Mar. 3. Elwell, Rev. H. E., M.A. Capenhurst Rectory, Chester.
1919. Jan. 1. Entwistle, Peter. The Public Museum, Liverpool.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1914. Oct. 29. Eschwege, Maurice. 47 Lime Street, Liverpool.
1920. Jan. 29. Ford-Jones, John, 35 Rocky Lane, Liverpool.
1875. Jan. 7. **Garnett, William.** Quernmore Park, Lancaster.
1907. April 22. Gladstone, Henry Neville. Burton Manor, Cheshire.
1902. Nov. 6. **Gladstone, Robert, B.C.L., M.A.** Woolton Vale, Liverpool.
1921. Jan. 20. Haigh, Edwin, C. C. San Roque, Calderstones, Liverpool.
1906. Feb. 14. Hall, Lawrence. 6 Canning Street, Liverpool.
1912. Jan. 18. Hand, Chas. R. Ivydene, Ashfield, Wavertree, Liverpool.
1890. Nov. 6. Hannay, A. M. 5 India Buildings, Water Street, Liverpool.
1908. Jan. 13. Hargreaves, John. 64 Dacre Hill, Rock Ferry.
1912. Nov. 21. Harvard College Library. (Per E. G. Allen and Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.)
1916. Jan. 27. Heal, Albert H. Plymyard Manor, Eastham, Cheshire.
1911. Oct. 25. Hignett, Theophilus. St. Ives, Sandfield Park, West Derby, Liverpool.
1910. Feb. 3. Hind, Miss Alice. 27 Beech Road, Birkenhead.
1916. Nov. 9. Hockley, Rev. G. W., M.A. The Rectory, Hardman Street, Liverpool.
1918. Jan. 31. Holt, Miss M. Fern Hill, New Brighton.
1913. Oct. 30. Hughes, John. 280 Kensington, Liverpool.
1919. Oct. 30. Humphreys, Dr. Richard, M.B., C.M. 1 Cressington Park, Liverpool.
1891. Nov. 5. Ireland, National Library of. (C/o Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd., 20 Nassau Street, Dublin).
1890. Nov. 6. Irvine, Wm. Fergusson, M.A., F.S.A. 56 Park Road South, Birkenhead. *Vice-President.*
1910. Nov. 10. John Rylands Library. Manchester.
1918. Feb. 28. Johnson, Joseph B. Devonshire House, Devonshire Road, Princes Park, Liverpool.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1912. Dec. 5. Jones, W. Bell. The Church House, Hawarden, Flintshire.
1897. Nov. 4. Lancaster Free Public Library. Lancaster.
1901. Jan. 17. Larkin, F. C., F.R.C.S. 18 Rodney Street, Liverpool. *Vice-President.*
1913. Oct. 30. Lawson, P. H. 6 Shavington Avenue, Chester.
1911 Jan. 19. Lee, Harold, J.P. 15 North John Street, Liverpool.
1889. Mar. 7. Leeds Free Public Library. Leeds.
1903. Dec. 17. Legge, Charles J. 3 Grosvenor Place, Claughton, Birkenhead.
1916. Jan. 1. Leigh-Mallory, Rev. Herbert L., M.A. St. John's Vicarage, Slatey Road, Birkenhead.
1911. Oct. 25. Leigh Public Library. Leigh, Lancashire.
1892. Feb. 25 Leverhulme, Right Honourable Lord. Thornton Manor, Thornton Hough, Cheshire.
1920. Oct. 28. Linaker, R. Hyde. Hazelmere, Weston Road, Runcorn, Cheshire.
1904 Jan. 28. Liverpool Free Library. Liverpool.
1902. Jan. 16. Liverpool Library (Lyceum). Bold Street, Liverpool.
1893. Nov. 2. Livesey, John. Barham, Wray Park Road, Reigate, Surrey.
1921. Feb. 24. Livsey, Arthur C., A.M.I.E.E. Three Trees, Woodland Park, Prestatyn, Flintshire.
1919. Jan. 1. Logan, John R. 81 Hartington Road, Liverpool.
1911. Oct. 25. Lyell, George I. 10 Vernon Street, Liverpool.
1914. Oct. 29. McCormack, Chas. V., M.R.C S., L.R.C.P. 58 Merton Road, Bootle.
1920. Jan. 1. Malley, Christopher. 6 West Bank Road, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
1888. Mar. 22. Manchester Free Reference Library. Piccadilly, Manchester.
1888. Mar. 22. Manchester University. Manchester.
1916. Oct. 28. Marshall Rev. W., M.A. Sarnesfield Court, Weobley, R.S.O., Herefordshire.
1920. Feb. 26. Matthews, Godfrey W. 23 Holland Road, Wallasey.
1914. Jan. 1. May, Walter T. 20 Huskisson Street, Liverpool.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1904. Mar. 25. Mayer Free Library. Bebington, nr. Birkenhead.
1890. Nov. 6. Meade-King, Richard R. Sandfield Park, West Derby, Liverpool.
1915. Jan. 28. Morton, Mrs. 124 Prenton Road West, Birkenhead.
1908. Dec. 10. Nelson, Philip, M.D., F.S.A., F.R.A.I. Beechwood, Calderstones, Liverpool. *Hon. Secretary.*
1897. Mar. 25. New York, Public Library of. New York, U.S.A. (C/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.)
1893. Feb. 9. Newberry Library. Chicago, U.S.A. (Per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, London, W C.)
1919. Oct. 30. Nicholson, Alex. C., F.G.S. 45 Ferndale Road, Hoylake.
1921. Feb. 24. Norris, George R. 5 Livingstone Drive, Liverpool.
1911. Feb. 2. Nottingham Free Public Library. Nottingham.
1907. July 15. Oldham Free Library. Oldham.
1907. Mar. 21. Owen, Segar, F.R.I.B.A. Kelmscott, Appleton, Cheshire.
1891. Dec. 17. Parker, Colonel John W. R., C.B., F.S.A. Browsholme Hall, Clitheroe.
1910. April 21. Paterson, David. Vailima, Queen's Drive, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.
1913. Oct. 30. Peabody Institute, The. Baltimore, U.S.A. (Per E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12/14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.)
1916. Oct. 28. Peel, W. The Shrublands, Hoole, Chester.
1890. Nov. 6. Peet, Henry, M.A., F.S.A., J.P. Manor Cottage, Cavendish Road, Birkenhead. *Vice-President.*
1921. Oct. 27. Pelling, Douglas L. 4 Curzon Road, Prenton.
1894. Nov. 1. Phipps, S. W. 32 Danehurst Road, Wallasey.
1919. Jan. 30. Pigot, Rev. Harry V., M.A. Grappenhall Rectory, Warrington.
1921. Jan. 20. Priestley, Frank C. Fieldhead, Prenton.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1911. Jan. 19. Public Record Office, London. (Per H.M. Stationery Office, Princes Street, Westminster, London, S.W.)
1888. Feb. 9. Radcliffe, Frederick M. Queen Insurance Buildings, Liverpool.
1891. Jan. 22. Ratcliffe-Ellis, Sir Thomas R. 18 King Street, Wigan.
1914. Oct. 29. Reynolds, Colonel Sir J. P., D.S.O., J.P., D.L. Dove Park, Woolton.
1921. Feb. 10. Rideout, Eric H., B.Sc., A.I.C. 17 Regent Road, Wallasey. *Hon. Assistant Librarian.*
1918. Feb. 14. Robertson, Allan. 43 Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.
1901. April 13. Rochdale Free Public Library. Rochdale.
1903. Dec. 3. **Royden, E. B.** Bidston Court, Oxton, Birkenhead.
1917. Jan. 25. Royds, Lady. 71 Eaton Place, London, S.W.
1870. Nov. 3. Rylands, John Paul, F.S.A. 96 Bidston Road, Birkenhead. *Vice-President.*
1874. Dec. 10. Rylands, William Harry, F.S.A. 1 Campden Hill Place, Notting Hill, London, W.
1888. Mar. 22. St. Helens Free Public Library. St. Helens.
1907. July 15. Salford Royal Museum and Libraries. Peel Park, Salford.
1888. Nov. 15. **Sandeman, Lieut.-Col. John Glas, M.V.O.,** Sub-Officer H.M. Hon. Corps of Gentlemen at Arms. Whin-Hurst, Hayling Island, Havant.
1888. Mar. 8. Shaw, G. T. Liverpool Free Library, Liverpool.
1920. Jan. 1. Sheppard, Percy G., L.M.S., L.S.A. 59 Edge Lane, Liverpool.
1897. Jan. 28. Southport (Atkinson) Free Public Library. Southport.
1899. April 13. Starkie, Colonel Edmund A. Le Gendre. Huntroyde, Burnley.
1918. Feb. 14. Steele, E. W. Topham. 7 Christchurch Road, Oxton.
1905. Feb. 23. Stewart-Brown, R., M.A., F.S.A. Fairoaks, Bromborough, Cheshire. *Vice-President.*
1911. Jan. 19. Stockport Public Library. Stockport.
1906. Feb. 15. Stone, Park N. The Moorings, Neston.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1891. Nov. 5. Stonyhurst College, Rev. the Rector of, S.J. Blackburn.
1919. Oct. 30. Stott, Dr. J. Edwin, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. 201 Edge Lane, Liverpool.
1912. Feb. 29. Strype, Chas. F. 61 Greenbank Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead.
1920. Oct. 28. Teare, W. Rimmer. 12 Bentley Road, Oxton, Birkenhead.
1887. Feb. 10. **Tempest, Mrs. Arthur Cecil.** Broughton Hall, Skipton-in-Craven.
1889. Feb. 21. Thompson, Edward P. Whitchurch, Salop.
1911. Jan. 19. Timbrell, Rev. W. F. J., M.A. Coddington Rectory, Chester.
1890. Nov. 6. Tonge, William Asheton. The Old Rectory, Warburton, Cheshire.
1908. Aug. 22. Toronto Reference Library, Toronto, Canada. (C/o Wm. Dawson & Sons, Ltd., Cannon House, Bream's Buildings, London, E.C.4.)
1888. Feb. 23. Toulmin & Sons, Ltd., George. *Lancashire Daily Post* Office, Preston.
1889. Oct. 31. Turton, Fletcher Thomas. Hazel Bank, Huyton, Liverpool.
1920. Jan. 1. Twemlow, J. A., B.A. 64 Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool.
1919. Jan. 1. Veitch, Geo. S., M.A., Litt.D. Pelham House, Sandown Park, Wavertree, Liverpool.
1903. Mar. 12. Victoria and Albert Museum Library. South Kensington, London, S.W. (Per Board of Education, Storekeeper's Department, South Kensington.
1894. Nov. 1. Waite, Jas. A. 6 Fairfield Street, Fairfield, Liverpool. *Hon. Assistant Secretary.*
1913. Nov. 27. Wales, National Library of. Aberystwyth.
1918. Jan. 1. Wallasey Public Libraries. Wallasey, Cheshire.
1894. April 5. Warburton, Rev. William, M.A. The Vicarage, Hoylake, Cheshire.
1921. Oct. 27. Wardman, R. The Beeches, Massie Street, Cheadle.
1892. Nov. 3. Warrington Museum. Warrington.
1921. Mar. 10. Watson, A. E., L.D.S. 135 Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool.
1897. Nov. 4. **Wearing, J. W., M.A.** Parkfield, Lancaster.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1918. Oct. 31. Webster, Rev. G. E., M.A. Tredington Village, Tewkesbury.
1918. Jan. 31. Weld, Francis. Weld Road, Birkdale, Southport.
1888. Dec. 13. **Weldon, William Henry, C.V.O., F.S.A.,** *Clarenceux King of Arms.* College of Arms, London, E.C.
1921. Mar. 24. White, Thomas, Jun. Junior Reform Club, Stanley Street, Liverpool.
1889. Jan. 10. Wigan Free Public Library. Wigan.
1906. Mar. 31. Wilkinson, W. The Limes, Victoria Park, Manchester.
1907. Oct. 10. Williams, R. Warner. Constitutional Club, 1 Beresford Road, Birkenhead.
1913. Oct. 30. Williams, Wm. H. 41 Laburnum Road, Fairfield, Liverpool.
1885. Nov. 26. Wilson, W. Forshaw. 50 Cable Road, Hoylake.
1915. Jan. 1. Winstanley, Herbert. Easby, Mersey Road, Aigburth, Liverpool.
1913. Oct. 30. Wisconsin State Historical Society. Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A. (Per G. H. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.)
1905. Mar. 9. Withers, R. E. M. 13 Haymans Green, West Derby, Liverpool.
1904. Jan. 28. Wolstenholme, Chas. M. 71 Park Road South, Birkenhead.
1891. Nov. 19. **Woodhouse, Miss E. D.** Burghill Court, Hereford.
1909. Feb. 12. Woods, E. C., L.D.S. (Eng.). 76 Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
1920. Jan. 29. Woods, E. C., Mrs. 76 Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1914. Mar. 26. Boyd-Dawkins, W., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A. Fallowfield House, Fallowfield, Manchester.
,, ,, Carlyon-Britton, P. W. P., J.P., D.L., F.S.A., P.B.N.S. 43 Bedford Square, London, W.C.
,, ,, Evans, Sir Arthur, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.S., P.S.A., Youlbury, Berkshire.

Date of Election.		
1914.	Mar. 26.	Green, Everard, F.S.A., Somerset Herald. College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.
,,	,,	James, Montagu R., D.Litt., F.S.A. Eton College, Eton.
,,	,,	Lyte, Sir Henry C. Maxwell, K.C.B., M.A. 61 Warwick Square, London, S.W.
,,	,,	Prior, E. S., M.A., A.R.A., F.S.A. Fairview, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge.
,,	,,	Read, Sir C. Hercules, LL.D., V.P.S.A. British Museum, London, W.C.
1920.	—	Lethaby, Prof. W. R., F.S.A. 111 Inverness Terrace, London, W.2.
,,	—	Biver, Count Paul. Jouy-en-Josas, Seine-et-Oise, France.

SOCIETIES WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

Society of Antiquaries of London.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
New England Historical and Genealogical Society.
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Chester Archæological Society.
Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society.
Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Archæological Society.
Kent Archæological Society.
Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.
Leicestershire Archæological Society.
Architectural and Archæological Society of Lincoln and Notts.
London and Middlesex Archæological Society.
Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History.
Sussex Archæological Society.
Thoresby Society, Leeds.
Yorkshire Archæological Society.

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Congress of Archæological Societies.
Lancashire Parish Register Society.
Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society.

TRANSACTIONS.

EARLY LIVERPOOL COACHING.

By A. H. Arkle, O.B.E.

Read 13 March, 1919, and 10 February, 1921.

THERE appears to be little to be said about coaching in England before the Restoration period. Jusserand tells us that coaches were introduced into England in 1564: "A coach," he says, "was a strange monster in those days, and the sight of them put both horses and man into amazement; some said it was a crab-shell brought out of China, and some imagined it to be one of the pagan temples in which the cannibals adored the devil." But a little before the Restoration the desire for travel, together with the growth of commercial life, brought into being that most picturesque of all the modes of travel we know of, the Stage Coach.

In the *Mercurius Politicus* for 8 April, 1658, is the following advertisement:

From the 26 April, 1658, there will continue to go stage coaches from the George Inn without Aldersgate, London, into the several cities and towns, for the rates and at the times hereafter mentioned and declared.

EVERY MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY:

To Salisbury, in 2 days	....	xx. *s.*
,, Exmaster, Hinnington and Exeter	....in 4 days	xl. *s.*
,, Doncaster and Ferribridge	....	xxxv. *s.*
,, York, in 4 days	....	xl. *s.*
,, Blandford and Doncaster in 2½ days	....	xxx. *s.*
,, Burput, in 3 days	....	xxx. *s.*
,, Stamford, in 2 days	....	xx. *s.*
,, Bawtrey, in 3 days	....	xxx. *s.*

MONDAY AND WEDNESDAY :
Ockinton, Plimouth .... l. s.
EVERY MONDAY :
To Darneton, Ferryhil, Helperby and Northallerton .... xlv. s.
,, Durham .... lv. s.
,, Newcastle .... lv. s.
Once every fortnight to Edinburgh, iv. £ a peece, on Mondays.
Every Friday to Wakefield, in 4 days .... xl. s.

All persons who desire to travel into the cities and towns and roads herein hereafter mentioned and expressed, namely to Coventry, Litchfield, Stone, Namptwich, Chester, Warrington, Wigan, Chorley, Preston, Garstang, Lancaster and Kendal.

Also to Stamford, Grantham, Newark, Tuxford, Bawtrey, Doncaster, Ferribridge, York, Helperby, North Allerton, Darneton, Ferry Hill, Durham, Newcastle, Wakefield, Leeds, and Halifax.

Also to Salisbury, Blandford, Dorchester, Barput, Exmaster, Hinnington, Exeter, Ockinton, Plimouth and Cornwall, let them repair to the George Inn at Holborn Bridge, London, and thence they shall be in good coaches with good horses upon every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at and for reasonable rates.

From the same paper of 24 June, 1658 :

The Postmasters on Chester road petitioning have received orders and do accordingly publish the following advertisement :

All gentlemen, merchants and others who have occasion to travel between London and Westchester, Manchester and Warrington, or any other town upon the road for the accommodation of trade, despatch of business and ease of purse, upon every Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning betwixt six and ten of the clock at the house of Mr. Christopher Charteris at the sign of the Hart's Horns in West Smithfield, and postmaster there, and at the postmaster at Chester and at the postmaster of Warrington, may have a good and able single horse or more furnished at 3d. the mile without charge of a guide, etc., etc.

All those who intend to ride this way are desired to give a little notice beforehand if conveniently they can to the several postmasters where they first take horse.

My attention was called to these interesting extracts by Mr. F. C. Beazley. They are taken from the first volume of *Notes and Queries*. They give us the main lines of traffic as they existed at the time.

That there were other ideas about the advantages of travel is evident from the following quotation from an early paper :

In the year 1672, when throughout Great Britain there were only six stage coaches constantly going, a pamphlet was written for their suppression. It stated : "These stage coaches make gentlemen come to London on every small occasion, which otherwise they would not do but upon urgent necessity. Nay, the convenience of the passage makes their wives often come up, who rather than come on such long journeys on horseback would stay at home. Here when they have come to town they must presently be in the mode, get fine clothes, go to plays and treats and by these means get such a habit of idleness and love of pleasure that they are uneasy ever after."

But the object of this paper is not to go into the question of coaches and coaching at large. I am only endeavouring to give an outline of how the coaching around Liverpool developed until it grew into the wonderful and efficient instrument which we find in the early nineteenth century—until, indeed, its great rival steam drove it almost entirely off the road.

John Ogilby published in 1675 his well-known book of road maps through England. He names and describes the great trunk roads of Great Britain as follows :

1st.—The Northern Road, extending to Berwick and thence to Edinburgh.
2nd.—The North-East Road to Yarmouth in Norfolk.
3rd.—The Kentish Road or Eastern to Dover.
4th.—The South-Western Road to Chichester and adjunct to the Great Western Road to Plymouth.
5th.—The due West or Bristol Road.
6th.—The North-West or Chester Road, extending to Holyhead.

Under these headings he adds a list of what are called "depending branches," and for the last of these main roads one of the depending branches is "Warrington to Liverpool," much in the same way as Neston is on a depending branch from Chester.

These main roads go S.W., W., N.W., N.E., and E., but on none of these lines was the ancient town of Liverpool situated; and until the trade with Ireland and the Plantations, especially the West Indies, began to develop, Liverpool was quietly pursuing various local industries, such as the potteries, with scarcely a thought of the vast field of commerce that was only just beginning to open to the enterprize and energy of her citizens.

Until the middle of the 18th century, Liverpool was almost entirely cut off from the rest of the country by the want of good main roads. So far back as November, 1725, the Common Council, taking into consideration that the road between this town and Prescot "hath been almost impassable, and that the inhabitants of this town have suffered much for want of getting their coals home during the summer season, thro' the great rains that have happened in these parts, and that it would be highly necessary to get an act of Parliament for the repairing that road so that it may be passable at all times of the year and for erecting a turnpike thereon: It is now ordered that a petition to Parliament for that purpose be prepared."

In January the following year (1726) the Council, taking into further consideration "the great charge of bringing coals and merchandises to this town and port in bad weather, and especially in the winter season and at all times when the weather happens to be wet and

unseasonable as it hath happened the last summer, and that the roads to the coal pits, and particularly in Prescot, cannot be sufficiently repaired by the statute work as it will be passable at such times, without the help and assistance of a toll: it is now ordered and agreed that application be made to Parliament to obtain an act for that purpose and that the treasurer do advance one-half of the charge."

James Chadwick was employed to survey, measure and map out this road to Prescot;[1] for which he was advanced the sum of £3 3*s*. Yet, after all this, it seems that the two acts of Parliament, dated 1746 and 1753, were passed, and that a period of nearly 30 years elapsed before the road was properly completed from Liverpool to Warrington; for it was only in 1757 that a contract was entered into for making the unfinished part of the road between Prescot and Warrington, to be completed in two years.

There must have been roads of a sort both from Wigan and Warrington into Liverpool by way of St. Helens and Prescot, but they were evidently in a sad state of unrepair, and no doubt until about 1760 most of the goods traffic between Liverpool and other towns was carried by pack horses, and passengers had to go on horseback as far as Warrington and there wait for the stage wagon or post coach to their destination.

From Troughton's *History of Liverpool*, speaking of the period before coaches were established, we gather that a stage coach from the north of England to London passed through Warrington every week. It was customary for travellers from Liverpool to the capital to go to Warrington on Sunday to be ready to set out in the coach

[1] Prescot Road began at the stone bridge which crossed the Pool at the top end of Dale Street, where is now William Brown Street.

at 3 a.m. on the Monday, and they thought themselves fortunate if they arrived in London late on the Saturday. Troughton, who probably wrote about 1805 or 1806, says (page 107): "Vestiges of the old road from Warrington to Liverpool are yet discernible near the nursery at Wavertree, and this road or lane, which is not 4 yards broad, is continued at intervals between the Edge Lane Road and Wavertree Lane to within a short distance of Wavertree Hall."

Such being the difficulties and delays in completing even one good road, how the merchants of those times must have welcomed the great canal system inaugurated by the Duke of Bridgewater and carried out by his engineer, Brindley! In the same spirit of enterprize local business men saw early in the 19th century the enormous advantage of a rail road to enable them to cope with the increasing demands of the traffic to and from the port.

At last, early in 1760, the road through Prescot to Warrington was completed, and Liverpool was united to the great trunk roads running in all directions throughout England. The first mention of a coach in connection with Liverpool occurs in an advertisement in the *Liverpool Advertiser* of 14 January, 1757, referring probably to a casual arrival in Liverpool for which the proprietors wanted, if possible, to secure a return fare. It runs as follows:

> For Birmingham or other parts of Warwickshire, Oxford, London, Bath, or any place adjacent, a returned coach which will set out from Liverpool on the 20th or 21st instant. Apply to the Talbot Inn or Mr. John Crosbie, merchant.

Another three years elapsed before a coach service began; the first advertisement runs as follows:

A machine "sets out on Monday, Sept. 1st, 1760, and on every Monday and Thursday morning at 6 o'clock from Mr. Budworth's, the Bull's Head Inn in Manchester; will call at the Red Lyon Inn in Warrington; at Mr. Reynolds's, the Old Legs of Man, in Prescot; and lies at Mr. Banner's, the Golden Fleece, in Liverpool. Returns from thence every Tuesday and Friday morning at 6 o'clock, and calls at the above places on its way back to Manchester. Each passenger to pay 8*s*. and so in proportion for any part of the road. To be allowed 14 lb. weight of luggage, and all above to pay 1d. per pound. Perform'd (if God permits) by

JOHN STONEHEWER,
JAMES FRANCE.

John Stonehewer was apparently the driver of this first venture for at least six or seven years, for I find a foot-note in Troughton's *History of Liverpool* which gives this extract from the *Liverpool Chronicle* of 21 January, 1768:

John Stonehewer, driver of the stage coach between Liverpool and Manchester, having been thrown off the box had his thigh broken by the fall, begs his thanks may be acceptable to his benefactors at Warrington for their generous contributions to the support of his wife and 4 children during his illness. John is a careful, honest man, a good driver, and takes care of his horses. Those whose business requires frequent passing between Liverpool and Manchester have lost in him for a time a good servant, but they may accelerate his cure and make his misfortune easier by their donations at the Bull and Punch Bowl, Dale Street, where the poor man still continues very ill.

Communication between Liverpool and Manchester, while very important, was only one step on the way for bringing Liverpool into touch with all the great towns; and of these, the most important was a good service with the Metropolis. So, in the spring of the next year, 20 March, 1761, the following interesting announcement appeared in the press:

The Liverpool, Warrington and Litchfield Flying Machine to London in 3 days, and as soon as the weather permits in 2 days, sets out from the Golden Lyon in Liverpool

every Monday and Thursday morning, and from the Bell Inn in Wood Street, London, every Monday and Thursday morning likewise; and arrives at the above places Wednesday and Saturday.

Prices from Liverpool, £2 6*s.*; Warrington, £2 2*s.*; Litchfield, £1 7*s.* Half the money to be paid at taking place and other half on taking coach. 14 lbs. luggage; all above to pay 3d. per lb. Outside passengers and child on lap to pay half-price. And so in proportion for any part of the road.

In June, 1763, the Flying Machine accomplished the journey in two days, travelling three days a week. But the times were difficult, and coach owners soon found that to maintain anything like a regularity in arriving at their destinations, it was absolutely necessary to have far better roads. Winter, with its flooding rain and snow, must have caused great inconvenience at the least to the travellers of those days, and one is inclined to think that a journey to London, especially in the winter months, required considerable fortitude. For instance, on 23 January, 1767, the proprietors of the local paper say:

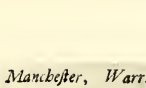
Since our last the London mails have come in here very irregularly owing to the prodigious fall of snow, which has been much greater upwards than here. The mail which, had it come as usual, would have been here on Thursday 15th, did not arrive till late on Sunday following; that for Friday 16th, and Sunday 18th, both on Wednesday. As the frost is now broke with rain we are fearful that the waters are so much out as to cause a further delay to yesterday's and this day's mails, which were not arrived this morning at 10 o'clock. Therefore we publish the papers without waiting any longer for them.

Again, in February the following year, 1768:

Owing to heavy rains which have fallen this week, the River Ribble at Walton Bridge was never known so high by 10 inches. The London mail, which should have come in here yesterday morning, did not arrive till 5 o'clock in the evening; and as we fear, from the rains which fell

Manchester, Warrington, Prescot, and *Liverpool*:

MACHINE,



SETS out on Monday, September 1, 1760 and on every Monday and Thursday Morning, at six o'Clock, from Mr. Budworth's, the Bull's Head-Inn, in Manchester; will call at the Red Lyon Inn, in Warrington; at Mr. Reynolds's, the Old Legs of Man, in Prescot; and lies at Mr Banner's, the Golden Fleece, in Liverpool. Returns from thence every Tuesday and Friday Morning, at six o'Clock, and calls at the above Places on its Way back to Manchester. Each Passenger to pay Eight Shillings, and so in Proportion for any Part of the Road. To be allowed 14 lb. Weight of Luggage, and all above to pay 1 d per Pound.

Perform'd (if GOD *permits) by* { JOHN STONEHEWER, JAMES FRANCE. }

The LIVERPOOL, WARRINGTON, & LITCHFIELD

FLYING MACHINE,

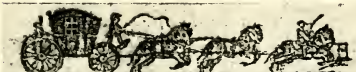
To LONDON in three Days, and as soon as the Weather permits in two Days,

SETS out from the Golden Lyon, in Liverpool, every Monday and Thursday Morning; and from the Bell Inn, in Wood-street, London, every Monday and Thursday Morning likewise, and arrives at the above Places every Wednesday and Saturday.

PRICES: From Liverpool, 2 l. 6 s. from Warrington, 2 l. 2 s. and from Litchfield, 1 l. 7 s. Half the Money to be paid at taking Place, and the other Half on taking Coach.

Each Passenger to be allow'd 14 lb. of Luggage; all above to pay three Pence a Pound. Out-side Passengers, and Children on Lap, to pay Half Price; and so in Proportion for any Part of the Road.

☞ No Plate, Money, Watches, or any Thing of Value, will be accounted for, unless enter'd as such, and paid for accordingly.



TALBOT INN, WATER-STREET LIVERPOOL

The OLD and WELL-ACCUSTOMED

LONDON and LIVERPOOL STAGE-COACH,

In 49 hours, with a GUARD, which is eight hours less time than the usual performance

THROUGH Warrington, Northwich, Middlewich, Stone, Litchfield, and Coventry, which is the best and much nearest road, every Sunday morning, at half past eight o'clock; and every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, at 5 in the evening.

FLYING MACHINE,

In *Three Days* from LONDON to MANCHESTER,

SET off every Monday, and Thursday Mornings, from the Swan with two Necks, in Lad-Lane, London, and from Mr. Radford's, the Royal Oak Inn, in Market-street-lane, Manchester, and lies at the Angel, in Northampton, the first Night, the second at the George Inn, in Derby, and the third at Manchester; and at the same Inns from Manchester to London. Each Passenger to pay Two Pounds Five Shillings, and to be allowed fourteen Pounds Weight of Luggage, all above to pay Three-pence per Pound. Outside Passengers, and Children on Lap, to pay half Price.

Perform'd (if GOD *permits) by* { JOHN HANFORTH, MATTHEW HOWE, SAMUEL GLANVILLES, WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

N. B. Places to be taken, and Parcels taken in, at Mr. Frodsham's, near the *Royal-Oak* Inn, in *Market-Street-Lane*, MANCHESTER, and at the *Swan with two Necks*, in *Lad-Lane*, LONDON.

BULL INN, DALE-STREET, LIVERPOOL.

The LONDON and LIVERPOOL

FLYING MACHINE,

On STEEL SPRINGS, with a GUARD,

Thro' Prescot, Warrington, Knutsford, Hulme's Chapel, Burslem, Hanley-Green, Uttoxeter, Burton upon Trent, Ashby de la Zouch, Leicester, Welford and Northampton, which is much the best road, and well known by passengers to be the quickest conveyance.

EARLY COACH ADVERTISEMENTS.

yesterday, the mail for to-day will be as late, we hope we shall be excused for publishing without waiting longer for Thursday's papers.

But difficulties of weather or bad roads would not be likely to daunt the enterprising people of Lancashire ; and in October, 1767, we find that another Liverpool Flying Machine to London in three days was advertised to run twice a week. Setting out from the Talbot Inn, Water Street, on Tuesday 27th, it was to go thence to London every Tuesday and Saturday ; arriving in Liverpool Monday and Friday during the winter season.

The development of local traffic is shown by an announcement that a Prescot stage coach would set out from the Angel Inn on Sunday, 29 November, 1768, about 9 a.m., for the Legs-of-Man and Bull Inn, Prescot, and return about 5 o'clock for the Angel Inn ; and would continue the same every day in the week. Fares, 1*s.* 6*d.* inside ; 6*d.* out. Thomas Adlington, driver.

It is important to remember that for those who did not want Flying Machines there were "The Old and Constant Stage Wagons." These

set out from the Nag's Head, Workhouse Lane, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, arriving at the Axe Inn, Aldermanbury, London, every Tuesday and Friday, leaving to return every Wednesday and Saturday, arriving at Liverpool every Tuesday and Friday, in 9 days ; carrying passengers and goods to London or any part of the road. Performed (if God permit) by

JOSEPH HULSE,
JONATHAN HIGGINSON,
WILLIAM WIDDERS.

Thomas Sutton, Bookkeeper ; who may be spoke with every day in the week upon Change at Change Hours.

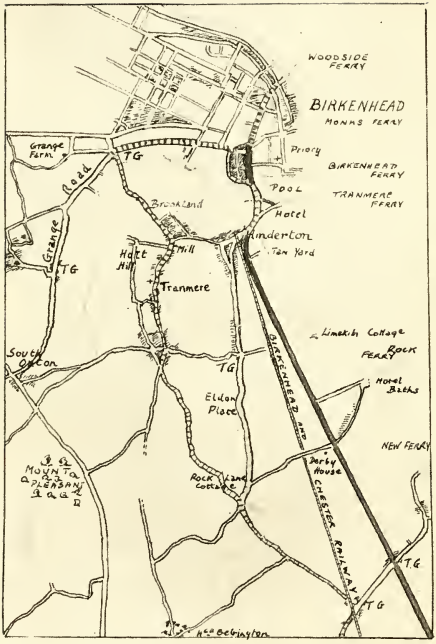
By April, 1773, the traffic to Manchester demanded a coach three times a week ; for John Randles, on removing from the George Inn,

High Street, to the Bull and Unicorn in Dale Street, states that the Manchester stage coach set out from the latter inn every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning at 7 o'clock. This coach dined at Warrington each day at the George Inn, carrying passengers, etc., etc. Travellers would meet with friendly usage and good accommodation at the above inns.

Something must next be said about another route from Liverpool to distant parts: that by crossing the Mersey by one of the numerous ferries, thence to Chester, there connecting with coaches to all parts. The ferries in these early days were all sailing boats, the first steamer to ply on cross traffic being the *Etna*, in 1817.

It has already been shown that coaches were running from London to Chester at least as early as 1658, and as early as 1707 Blundell's *Diary* records that the writer made use of the "Eastom" ferry boat to go to Chester, and in 1709 he made use of the Rock House and Woodside Ferry. I can find no trace, however, of a coach running regularly between Chester and Woodside Ferry before 4 June, 1762, when it was announced that a new machine with six able horses would set out from the Golden Talbot, in Chester, for the Woodside Ferry Boathouse every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning at 8 o'clock, and take passengers at 4*s.* each, returning at 4 o'clock on the same day to Chester. The same machine went every Monday, Wednesday and Friday to Parkgate, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each. Boats would attend at the Woodside on the above days to carry passengers to Liverpool.

It is somewhat difficult to determine what road the coaches used between Chester and Woodside. At first the route appears to have been from Chester to Bromborough Pool (the



MAP OF BIRKENHEAD SHOWING THE VARIOUS COACH-ROUTES INTO THE TOWN

TAKEN FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY OF 1840

SCALE

0 ½ 1 MILE.

present Chester Road); thence by Lower Bebington and Dacre Hill to Tranmere, along what is now Church Road, and down Whetstone Lane to Grange Lane (now Grange Road), and on to Woodside. About 1790 the Old Chester Road was improved and the coaches, after passing Lower Bebington to Dacre Hill, there turned to the right along the Old Chester Road, crossing the Pool (Tranmere) by the bridge, or rather embankment. In the *Liverpool and Lancaster Herald* of 7 August, 1790, we read as follows:

> We hear that the embankment at Birkenhead Pool in Cheshire to complete the communication of the turnpike road leading from Chester to the Woodside Ferry opposite this town was made possible for horses and carriages above the highest spring tides in the month of March last, and the turnpike road is now in such a state of forwardness that it is expected that another summer will complete the whole length from Chester to the above ferry; the distance 16 miles only.

The New Chester Road, connecting Bromborough Village with Birkenhead and avoiding the steep gradients by Lower Bebington, is quite a modern road, having been made about 1840 by Mr. J. Brassey, the famous contractor.

In 1774 we get the first mention of New Ferry. It had considerable advantages at that time. From that point to Chester was a much shorter road, and the rather difficult and hilly road over Tranmere Hill was avoided. At the same time the voyage was considerably shorter than that by Eastham (or, as it was sometimes called, Carlett Ferry), and it escaped the troublesome sandbanks of the river at that point, which made navigation for sailing boats both difficult and dangerous. The tenant at this period was Mr. Englefield Lloyd. A coach was fixed to set out from the New Ferry House every day at 9-30 in the morning for Chester (Pyed Bull Inn, Northgate

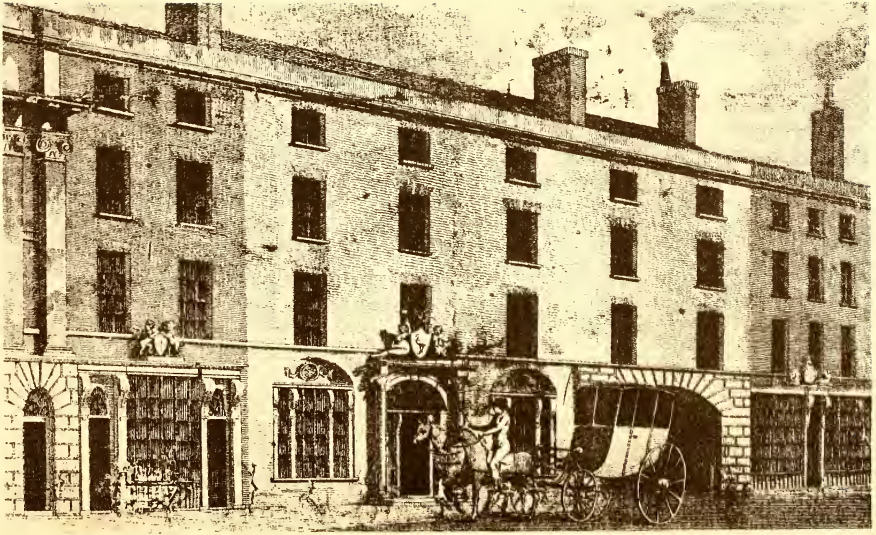
Street, kept by Simon Leet). Each passenger paid 4*s.* in, or 2*s.* outside. By applying to Richard Davenport at the Friendship Coffee House, Strand Street, Liverpool, passengers could be accommodated with boats to the said ferry on the shortest notice.

There was still another direction in which coach traffic was bound to develop—the outlet from Liverpool at the north end. In October, 1763, the development began by an advertisement that the Liverpool and Kendal stage coach machine would run from the White Lyon, Kendal, every Friday, arriving at the Black Horse and Rainbow, in High Street, Liverpool, next day (Saturday) to dinner. The return journey began on Monday morning. Passengers dined at the George Inn, Preston, and lay at the King's Arms, Lancaster, going on to Kendal the next morning. The fares to and from Kendal were 22*s.*; to Lancaster, 16*s.*; to Preston, 10*s.*; and to Wigan, 6*s.*; children on lap and outside, half-price.

The turnpike road from Liverpool through Ormskirk was not in existence as the Act for it was only obtained in 1770. The traffic, therefore, no doubt went either through Prescot and Wigan or *via* Warrington. I am indebted to Mr. R. Stewart-Brown for a notice that the first coach for Preston by the Ormskirk road, passed through Aughton on 15 June, 1774.[1] In this connection it is worth while quoting the earnings of the various gates between Liverpool and Preston :

	Walton,	Lydiate,	Burscough,	Tarleton,	Penwortham
1775	£174	57	20	96	91
1779	201	72	105	100	100
1803	424	194	234	184	330
1806	530	190	222	198	466
1811	700	302	260	300	416

[1] Newstead's *Annals of Aughton.*



NORTH SIDE, DALE STREET: SHOWING A FLY WAGGON.

These figures show the enormous development on this one main road.

The extraordinary hours at which people of those times had to begin their journeys will not have escaped notice. It must have required a good deal of moral courage to get up in time for a coach starting off, as many did, at any hour between 3 and 6 a.m.—or say on a winter's night at 9 p.m.—for a long ride. Only a very small proportion of the population ventured to travel at all ; but those who did, had to carry out their project under trying and inconvenient circumstances.

It is important too to remember that while passenger traffic did not attain large dimensions until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the goods traffic of the country, stimulated no doubt by the competition of the canals, increased to a much larger extent. We find, for instance, that not only were stage waggons rumbling their way leisurely between Liverpool and London and other places, but also express waggons, or, as they called them, " Flying Waggons," which did the journey to London in five days, the proprietors hoping that such expedition would meet with proper reward.

About 1780 the greatest of all coaching developments occurred : the invention of the mail coach. How did our forefathers manage with their mails ? Down to 1673, Liverpool had not even a horse post. About that date, the Deputy Postmaster General (Colonel Roger Whitley, probably a Cheshire man) admitted that something ought to be done to improve postal facilities. A letter is quoted in Hyde's book on the *Early History of the Post*, in which Whitley says : " I agree with you that the trade of that industrious place (Liverpool) ought to have

quicker despatch in its correspondence and may deserve a horse post ; but if the charge is imposed on the Office the benefit will not balance the expense." One can almost imagine that His Majesty's Post Office had this last phrase framed and placed in some prominent place for the benefit of succeeding generations. However, it seems that, with the help of Alderman Chandler, of Liverpool, this improvement was inaugurated, and this system of mail carriage was carried on for more than 100 years. Previous to 1673, letters (say) from Manchester for Ireland were carried up to London, and then by way of Chester and Holyhead ; but in the year 1673 an improvement was effected, the letters being taken only as far south as Stone, in Staffordshire, there picking up the connection with the London mails. Brooke tells us that the Post Office for Liverpool in 1775, and for some years after, was in North John Street, on the east side, between Dale Street and the opening leading into Princes Street, and was just like what one sees in a small country town, with an aperture for receiving letters and a moveable square or little door-like opening in the window for delivery of letters. In that year (1775) Liverpool had only one letter carrier ; no town except London was allowed more than one. In 1800 the office was established at Old Post Office Place ; in 1839 it was transferred to Canning Place, part of the Dock Office of that period, where the head office remained till the large building in Victoria Street was built in 1899. In 1792 the salary of the Postmaster was £100 per annum ; Bath, at £150, was the highest out of London. In 1801, the charge for a single letter from London to Liverpool was 9d. However, better times were coming. In 1782, John Palmer put forward his plan for reform of

the postal system. There is a full account of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He was born at Bath in 1742. His father (John Palmer) was a prosperous brewer and tallow chandler; his mother was one of the Longs of Wraxall Manor, Wilts. Young John wished to go into the army, but eventually took his place in the counting house of the brewery until, owing to fear of consumption of the lungs, he had to give up the work. His father, in the meantime, had become proprietor of a theatre in Bath, and in 1768 obtained a practical monopoly of the theatrical properties in Bath for 21 years. Young Palmer acted for his father in London, and had to make many journeys in connection with his business. He noticed that the state post was the slowest mode of conveyance in the country. The mail then took three days between London and Bath, and he had frequently accomplished the distance in *one*. His plan for the reform of the postal service had for its main idea to send the mails by the stage coaches instead of by post boys on worn-out horses. The coach was to be guarded, to carry no outside passengers, and to travel at 8 or 9 miles per hour. After some delay and opposition from the postal officials, it was decided to try the plan on the London and Bristol Road, the first mail coach leaving Bristol for London on 2 August, 1784. On the 23rd August it was suggested that the mail coach service should be extended to Norwich, Nottingham, Liverpool and Manchester; and by the autumn of 1785 mail coaches were also running to Leeds, Gloucester, Swansea, Hereford, Milford Haven, Worcester, Birmingham, Shrewsbury, Holyhead, Exeter, and many other places, and in 1786 to Edinburgh. On 11 October, 1786, Palmer was appointed Comptroller General

of the Post Office. Honours poured in on him from many quarters, and amongst others he was presented with the freedom of Liverpool and Chester. He died at Brighton, 16 August, 1818, having done splendid work for the country. Before 1784 there had been constant robbery of the mails, but from 1784 to 1792 no mail coach was stopped or robbed. In 1788, 320 towns which formerly had a post three times a week, had one every day. The speed had been increased from 5 or 6 miles an hour to 7, and by 1792 the old unsatisfactory coaches had all been replaced by new and modern types.

On 14 July, 1785, the following announcement appeared in *Gore's Advertiser*:

A further extension of Mr. Palmer's plan will take place on Sunday evening 24th inst., from which day the office will be open for the receipt of letters for London and the inter-places every night till 10-0 (except Fridays) and for the delivery of letters every morning at 8 o'clock except Tuesdays.

N.B.—No business will be done at the office on Sunday from 10 in the morning till after evening service. It will likewise be shut up at 9 p.m.

On 21 July in the same year appeared the following:

GOLDEN LION HOTEL, DALE STREET.

The original Mail Coach with a guard all the way will set off on Monday 25th, at 4 in the morning to go in 30 hours.[1]

Notice.—That all carters, chaise boys, etc., betwixt Liverpool and London to observe when they hear the horn of the guard to the Mail Coach they are immediately to turn out of the road and make way for the same. If this caution is not strictly attended to, etc., etc.

On 29 June, 1786, the mail was transferred from the Golden Lion to the hotel at the bottom of Lord Street, and the time of departure was

[1] On 1st September reduced to 27 hours.

GOLDEN LION, DALE-STREET,
LIVERPOOL.

THE ROYAL

MAIL COACH,

With a GUARD All the Way.

SETS out from the above INN every Morning at 4 o'Clock; and goes in 27 Hours, to the SWAN WITH TWO NECKS, LAD-LANE, LONDON.—Fare 3l. 13s. 6d.

ALSO, The OLD and WELL-ACCUSTOMED

LONDON and LIVERPOOL STAGE-COACH,

REMOVED FROM the TALBOT, in WATER STREET, to the ABOVE INN,

Goes in 43 hours, which is less time than any other machine from this place, thro' Warrington, Middlewich, Stone, Lichfield, and Coventry, every Sunday morning at half past eight o'clock; and every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, at 5 in the evening.—Inside 2l. 10s.—Outside 3l 5s.

The only COACH to BIRMINGHAM, from the above Inn, the same days and hours—Inside 1l. 5s. 6d Outside 13s. 6d.

Places in all the above coaches to be taken at the GOLDEN LION, Dale-street, ONLY.

Full fare to be paid at taking seats; and if fail going, one half will be returned.

Performed by { H. FORSHAW, Liverpool, C. CROSSLEY, Warrington, T. WILSON, London } & Co.

The proprietors will not be accountable for any thing above 5l. value, unless entered as such, and paid for accordingly; neither will they be accountable for goods damaged, unless well and sufficiently packed: And they most respectfully request their friends will be attentive in sending parcels to Mr. FORSHAW's, the GOLDEN LION, as several mistakes have happened in servants going to the old Office in Water-street, which this Company has not any concern with.

LIVERPOOL TO LONDON MAIL COACH ADVERTISEMENT.

THE "GOLDEN LION," DALE STREET.

altered to 11 o'clock in the evening. On 1 June, 1789, this hotel was sold up and the royal mail transferred to the London Tavern and Talbot Inn. The old Talbot Inn had been pulled down in 1787, but rebuilt and opened by Messrs. Harris and Bates, vintners, from London, on 17 April, 1788. The royal mail for the north started, in October, 1785, from the old Talbot Inn at 3-30 every morning. In February, 1786, this coach was transferred to the Cross Keys, in Dale Street, and immediately after to the Golden Lion. Its route was by Preston, where it joined up with the London and Carlisle mail coach.

As traffic developed all over the country, it was natural that there should be a linking up of the towns on the various lines of traffic. I think it was between 1780 and 1790 that this feature began to assume importance. In July, 1779, occurs perhaps the first example of this phase of coaching:

The Liverpool and Lancaster stage coach sets out from Mr. Lewis's, the Horse and Rainbow, High Street, Liverpool, every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning at 6 o'clock. The return journey from Mr. Capstick's, the New Inn, Lancaster, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 4 o'clock. Going from Liverpool, the coach breakfasts at Mr. Abram's, Burscough; dines at Preston about 1 p.m. By which means passengers, parcels, etc., from the London coach are regularly conveyed to Lancaster the same evening.

In 1781 a further example may be cited:

Mr. Cooper, of Preston, sets out from Preston on Friday, 25 May, at 6 a.m.; arrives at Mr. Banner's, the Golden Fleece, at noon. Returns at 2 p.m.; arrives Preston same evening; there meets the Lancaster, Kendal, Penrith and Carlisle coach; which leaves at 6 a.m. next morning, arrives Carlisle same evening, at 10 p.m.; thence by diligence at 4 a.m. to Dumfries.

Another feature in the journeys comes out about the same period, *i.e.*, publishing the exact

route of the journey, and in some cases making a regular itinerary of each stage, thus :

12 *July*, 1781. From the Cross Keys Inn, the London New Post Coach in two days, thro' Warrington, Knutsford, Macclesfield, Leek, Ashbourne, Derby, Loughboro', Leicester, Welford, Northampton. Breakfast, Derby ; dine, Leicester ; lie at Angel Inn, Northampton ; leave 3 a.m. Arrive Blossoms Inn, Laurence Lane, London, early in afternoon.

There is one more main route which deserves notice, the great road through the East Lancashire and Yorkshire industrial area, right through to the east coast ports of Hull, Newcastle, etc. In January, 1787, W. Henshaw, of the Black Bull in Lord Street, J. Hoyle of the Angel in Dale Street, and Walkers of the Cross Keys, Dale Street, advertised a diligence every morning from Liverpool to Manchester, where it met the diligence which went to Leeds, York, Hull and Scarboro', " the only diligence which travels that road."

Hitherto, arrangements for traffic had been in the hands of innkeepers, each one usually taking a particular route. We now come to the era of big firms running a large complement of coaches every day to all parts of the country. This idea grew rapidly, especially towards the end of the 18th century, and increased more and more in the new century. In 1789, Thomas Simpson, proprietor of the London Tavern and Talbot Inn, Water Street, advertised the following, viz. :

London Stage Coach.
London Post Coach.
The only Birmingham Coach, via Stafford and Wolverhampton.
The only Bath and Bristol Coaches.
A Daily Coach to Lancaster. And later,
A Daily Coach to Manchester and Chester.

In 1793, Thomas Simpson disappeared, and in his place came M. Harris, who shortly before had signed the contract with the General Post Office for a mail coach to York; and so he advertised, from the London Tavern and Talbot Inn, the mail coach, leaving at 3 o'clock every morning, through Warrington, Manchester, Rochdale, Halifax, Bradford, Leeds, Tadcaster, York, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Edinburgh. The fares were—to Warrington, 6*s.*; Manchester, 12*s.*; Rochdale, 17*s.*; Halifax, 23*s.*; Bradford, 26*s.*; Leeds, 30*s.*; Tadcaster, 35*s.*; York, 38*s.*; Newcastle-on-Tyne, 60*s.*; Edinburgh, 101*s.* After a very short career, M. Harris dropped out, and in the latter part of 1793, the working of the coaches was taken over by Anderson, Evans and Co., who for many years worked the royal mail to London until, in 1799, Thomas Cooper and Co., a Preston firm, appear as the proprietors.

In 1794, H. Stantton & Co. were running a coach from the Black Horse and Rainbow Inn. High Street, Liverpool, to Manchester and back. In 1796 they were working from the Crown Inn, Red Cross Street, with coaches to Birmingham and London, evidently making a bid for the fast traffic to the metropolis. In April they announced the journey to be done in 38 hours, and by June they reduced it to 34 hours. In 1797 they started coaches to Carlisle and Scotland. They stated that they were determined that their coaches should be conducted with the greatest regularity and expedition; that every passenger would have a card of the distance of each stage and the time of arrival at the same. They seem to have introduced the idea of naming the coaches, such as Telegraph light coach; Expedition coach; The Traveller; Camperdown; Resolution;

and many others. This soon became the general practice.

In 1800 appears a name destined to become the most important in the coaching affairs of Liverpool and district: the Bretherton family. On 11 January, 1800, P. Bretherton purchased Mr. Stantton's share in the London Expedition Coach from Crown Inn, Red Cross Street. (This coach had good horses, it was declared, was well lighted, and had a guard all the way the same as the mail.) Also the Birmingham Expedition Coach; the Bath and Bristol Coach; and the Carlisle Coach. A week or two later it was stated that the purchase of Stantton's business was made by Bartholomew Bretherton & Co., who seem sometimes to have advertised themselves as B. & F. Bretherton. In May of the same year P. Bretherton & Co. advertised a coach for Bolton, Bury and Rochdale from Peter Bretherton's, the Wheat Sheaf in Dale Street; so that they are a somewhat mixed-up family. There was, at the beginning of the Brethertons' career, considerable trouble with the old firm of Thomas Cooper & Co., of Liverpool and Preston. Bitter words appeared in the newspapers during the year 1800, suggesting that Cooper's friends in the various towns had been "got at" by the Brethertons, or that some influence had been brought to bear by which Cooper's connections were seriously handicapped.

The Brethertons appear at first as if they were one large firm. In the beginning of December, 1801, we find the following:

The cheapest coaches of all others travelling out of Liverpool northwards from the Crown Inn, Red Cross Street, every morning at 7 o'clock for Preston, Lancaster, Ulverstone, Whitehaven, Kendal, Penrith, Carlisle, and all parts of Scotland. The Public is cautioned that there is

"ROYAL LIVERPOOL UMPIRE": LIGHT POST COACH.

no other coach by which passengers or parcels can be forwarded north of Kendal.

The London Light Coach through Birmingham and Oxford, every evening at 6 o'clock ; also to Bristol, Bath, Exeter and Plymouth.

The Northwich, Middlewich, Sandbach, and Newcastle Coach, three times a week, at 8 o clock in the morning.

Passengers finding themselves tired by the length of the journey may rest on the road and proceed without additional fare.

BRETHERTONS & CO.

The year 1801 was remarkable for the severity of the winter. On the 7th December we read "the fall of snow on Friday extended to every quarter whence we have received accounts." Near Marlboro' the snow was drifted to the depth of several feet, additional horses were procured, and the coach was drawn through ; but its way was again impeded when one of the passengers disengaged himself from the carriage and fell into a pit 8 feet deep, and it was with extreme difficulty his life was saved. In prosecuting their journey they were overturned, the guard being very severely hurt. The coaches for Liverpool and Leeds were buried in the snow on Chalk Hill, and an hour and a half was spent in extricating them. Near Dunstable the mail again sank in snow above the axle-tree, and it was necessary to send back for additional horses. At Stokenchurch Hill all the coaches which left London on Friday morning were stopped. The Manchester and Shrewsbury heavy coaches, which left at the same time, were unable to get beyond Chalk Hill. At Hockliffe the Chester coach stuck. Many other accounts from all parts of the country show what a terrible time passengers, drivers and horses must have experienced.

The commencement of the nineteenth century witnessed a very large increase in the Liverpool

coaching traffic. In addition to the Brethertons may be mentioned Peacock, Yates & Linley, with coaches from the Coach and Horses Inn at the end of Whitechapel, near the bottom of Lord Street; Anderson, Evans & Co., from the Talbot Inn; and many others. From the Talbot alone, in 1805, Anderson, Evans & Co. despatched the following mail coaches and other carriages:

The London Royal Mail every night at 9-15.
Manchester and Leeds Royal Mail every night at 9-15.
York, Hull and Edinburgh Royal Mail every morning.
London Coach (the Lord Nelson) every afternoon precisely at 5 o'clock, in 38 hours.
Bristol, Bath, Exeter and Plymouth Expedition Coach every day.
Birmingham and Oxford Coach every afternoon at 5 o'clock.
Preston, Lancaster and Carlisle Coach every day at noon.

In the winter of 1806 the mail for London left at 9-30 p.m., at the reduced fares of £4 4*s*. inside, £2 2*s*. out. In August, 1807, Anderson, Evans and Co. started a new Royal Mail to Carlisle, Glasgow and Edinburgh—to reach Glasgow in 36 hours; leaving Liverpool every evening at 5 o'clock. In connection with this the Postmaster announced that the office would be closed at 5 p.m. for the despatch of letters to Ormskirk, Preston, Lancaster, all Westmorland, Cumberland, Isle of Man, Northumberland, Scotland, and North of Ireland.

During 1807 and part of 1808 another firm, Newby, Varty & Duckworth, were carrying on a large trade. There was a series of angry advertisements in the newspapers respecting the ownership of a coach called the Royal Sailor, with the Brethertons. Each firm contradicted the statements of the other, and both of them kept on asserting that their coach was not

discontinued as the other company affirmed, but was still running as usual, and each got to its destination before the other (on paper, at least).

In 1808 the Postmaster ordered the establishment of a mail coach between Shrewsbury ahd Holyhead, to commence on 6th September, and as the packet was to sail for Dublin immediately on the arrival of the coach—and so four hours before the mail from Chester, for which the packet was not to wait—a daily communication was opened between Chester and Chirk to meet the Shrewsbury and Holyhead coach, performed by an armed express rider from Chester, and the same on return. It was expected that in this way the Irish mails would arrive in Liverpool a whole day earlier. The authorities were first obliged to turn their attention to the condition of the Shrewsbury and Holyhead road, and that effectively prevented the maintenance of a regular service. Telford was asked to report on the road, and in 1811 sent in a report; but the country was just entering on its last desperate struggle with Napoleon, so that it was not until 1815 that he was authorised to proceed with his suggested improvements. Even now, a hundred years later, one can admire the genius which planned and carried into effect such a magnificent specimen of road-making.

These and similar improvements to other main routes in due time caused a lowering of the records for the various journeys; and in the course of the next ten years several coaches were able to run to Liverpool from London in 26 hours, from Birmingham in 12 hours, from Bristol in 24 hours, and from Glasgow in 30 hours. The increase of speed brought its natural consequences and the racing of coaches became very prevalent. No doubt it was difficult to deal with. The

following curious instance I copy from a contemporary paper :

22 May, 1814. On Friday se'nnight in the morning the True Britain Coach from Leeds to York, in passing the other coaches, while delivering a parcel at Tadcaster (the last stage before York) came in contact with splinter bar, was overturned and the driver, Matthew Irish, was killed. The coroner's inquest gave a verdict, " That the said Matthew Irish being carelessly wilfully driving the True Britain Coach the same was thrown to the ground and the coach falling upon his body he received several mortal injuries, of which he died about two hours after." The coach, horses and harness were declared " deodand,"[1] and valued at £100. We hope this will be a caution to proprietors and their servants.

In November, 1819, R. Chambers & Co., Liverpool, coach proprietors, with reference to their coach to Nottingham, state :

Notwithstanding artful and unprincipled attempts to do away with it by their own late middle partners and the opposition company, they still continue to run on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

The public are acquainted that by recent and generally approved arrangement they agreed to run on separate days to prevent all that danger so incident to passengers by contested racing, but since most singular attempts upon the destruction of the favourite Britannia, the opposition party have again shifted their days, most likely to promote that continued warfare formerly so long and so desperately kept up. All such practices are discountenanced by the said proprietors.

Down to 1808 the Tranmere ferry—W. Roberts, Ferry House—had been enjoying a large and increasing business. For instance, in June of that year, we find :

Royal Mail Coach to Chester and Holyhead, every morning at 6 o'clock.

Commercial Coach to Shrewsbury, through Neston, Chester, Whitchurch, and Wem.

[1] The unusual word " Deodand," according to the Oxford English Dictionary, signifies a thing forfeited to the Crown to be used in alms, etc., as having caused a human death.

Coach to Wrexham and Oswestry, three times a week, at 9 a.m.
Three times a week to Shrewsbury, via Neston, Ellesmere, etc., at 9 a.m.; and
A boat every morning from Liverpool at 8 o'clock, to carry passengers to above.

However, on 7 November, 1808, appeared the following advertisement :

The Postmaster has been pleased to order that the mail coach between Liverpool and Chester shall proceed by direct road by Thornton and Sutton, and that the mails should in future cross the Mersey to and from Woodside Ferry instead of Tranmere. The public are informed that the arrangement started yesterday and that the Post Office will be kept open for Ireland, North Wales and Shropshire till 3 p.m. The mail boat to carry mail coach passengers only.

In all my researches in coaching literature I have only once found mention of the modern idea of coaching as a form of amusement and pleasure, and I think it is worth noting. It was in 1805, October 9 (a bit late in the year, perhaps) :

The Commercial Coach leaves Poole (probably Tranmere Ferry) every evening at 5 o'clock, through Chester and Wrexham, passing near the grand aqueduct across the Dee at Pont Cysyllte, to Chirk, where it meets the coaches from Shrewsbury to Holyhead by way of Lord Penrhyn New Inn at Capel Curig. The peculiar advantage of travelling this way must be apparent when it is considered that besides obviating the inconvenience of several steep and almost inaccessible hills, passengers avoid by this conveyance the ferry at Conway and have the advantage of sleeping one night on the road at Capel Curig, which for extensive and convenient accommodation as an inn and romantic and beautiful scenery in the neighbourhood is not to be excelled in the Principality.

In 1805 we see the beginning of the modern omnibus or tram traffic. Higginson & Co. advertised :

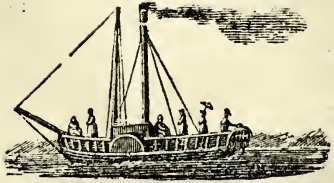
The Cornwallis from the Grapes Inn, Williamson Street, through Wavertree, Childwall, Woolton and Hale, to

Runcorn. Fares: Wavertree, 1/6 in, 1/- out; Childwall, 2/- in, 1/6 out; Woolton, 2/- in, 1/6 out; Hale and Speak, 3/- in, 2/- out.

In April, 1817, a strange new portent comes across my story, the power behind which was eventually to sweep away coaches and all their ways. In the local papers appeared the advertisement, accompanied by an extraordinary illustration, of the *Etna*, sailing or "steaming" from Tranmere Ferry. There is little more to say, for soon after steamers came the locomotive. Though at first the coach made a brave fight, it was very soon evident that horses had no chance against steam. However, to show the enormous development of coaching immediately prior to the locomotive, I have written out a list of the coaches despatched by the three firms of Bretherton in the year 1822.

Regarding the firms, it is very difficult to understand the relations between these three brothers (if they were brothers), Peter, Bartholomew and Francis. The first to appear was Peter, who bought the shares of H. Stantton & Co. in 1800. At that time he had no address in Liverpool and he is not mentioned in the *Directory* until 1807, when he was located at Parr, near St. Helens. It is only in 1813 that his coach office is mentioned as 180, Dale Street. In 1816 it is 161, Dale Street; in 1818, 176, Dale Street; in 1823, 184, Dale Street. In all these cases his coaches are described as from the Golden Lion; and in 1823 it is distinctly stated, Golden Lion, 184, Dale Street. The other two, Bartholomew and Francis, started together in Red Cross Street—no doubt the Crown Inn. In 1813 they appear to have separated, for in that year's *Directory* Bartholomew is described as at 177, Dale Street, Francis remaining at the Crown. In 1816

Read and be Accommodated.



ETNA,

TRANMERE FERRY STEAM PACKET.

THIS Packet has commenced running *from* the New Slip at the West Side of the Queen's Dock Graving Docks, where every convenience will be found for taking on board and discharging Carriages, Carts, Horses, and Cattle of every description, going to and from Cheshire, without the trouble that has hitherto been experienced in the Common Sail Boats, and which it is the intention of the Proprietors as much as possible to obviate. This Vessel is peculiarly adapted for Carriages, &c. to drive on board, without the trouble of UNHARNESSING, and will be found a most eligible and safe Conveyance for Gentlemen going to CHESTER RACES, as she crosses from Liverpool to Tranmere every half hour, remaining only ten minutes on each side.

TERMS OF PASSAGE:

	s.	d.
A Four-wheeled Carriage, with two Horses and Passengers.....	10	0

TRANMERE FERRY STEAMER, 1817.

PARISH OFFICES (LATE "KING'S ARMS"), WATER STREET, 1829.

Bartholomew's coach house is described as Dale Street. In 1818 it is the Saracen's Head, 130, Dale Street. Francis in the meanwhile adds the White Horse, Dale Street to the Crown in Red Cross Street. In 1821 the Saracen's Head was numbered 135, Dale Street, while the White Horse was No. 8. In 1827 there were further changes, for Bartholomew had taken over the Talbot Inn, Water Street, together with the Saracen's Head; Francis remaining as before. In 1832, Francis had retired to Lydiate, while Bartholomew had added the Angel Inn, Dale Street. It is worth noting that the family were wise in their generation, for in 1825 there was a Joseph Bretherton, who was a veterinary surgeon, while a Daniel and Thomas were coach-builders.

With the early thirties coaching days were numbered, and now with petrol and steam power, and probably electricity, we shall never look upon their like again.

APPENDICES.

Time Bills.

(A.)—London Expedition Coach: H. H. Stantton and Co., 1800.

			Miles.	
p.m.				
7 0	Sets out from Crown Inn, Redcross Street.			
10 0	Warrington	Mr. Key's	18	Supper, 10-30.
a.m.				
4 0	Sandbach or Congleton	Mr. Gibbin's Red Bull	32	
8 0	Stone	Mr. Gothard's	17	Breakfast.
10 30	Colwich	Mr. Coleman	11	
p.m.				
3 0	Birmingham *stays 3 hours*	Mr. Evett's Saracen's Head	26	
10 0	Warwick	Mr. Plant's	21	Supper.
a.m.				
3 0	Banbury	Mr. Wyatt's	18	

a.m.				
6 30	Buckingham	Mr. Orsbourn	17¾	Breakfast.
10 0	Ailesbury	Mr. Walton's	16¾	
p.m.				
3 0	Snow Hill, London.	Mr. Mountain's Saracen's Head	40½	
44 *Hours.*			218	

(B.)—W. C. Lillyman & Co., Hotel, Castle Street, 1816.

Post Coach, The Prince Regent, every morning for London.

From Liverpool at 8 a.m.			Time occupied for each stage.
to Warrington	18 miles	2 35	
Knutsford	12 ,, ...	1 40	
Congleton	14 ,, ...	2 0	
			30 m. Dinner.
Talk o' th' Hill	7½ ,, ...	1 5	
Stone	14 ,, ...	2 0	
Lichfield	22 ,, ...	3 30	
			20 m. Supper.
Birmingham	16 ,, ...	2 40	
			10 m. Office bus.
Wells Green	6 ,, ...	1 0	
Coventry....	12 ,, ...	1 50	
			20 to Change
Dunchurch	11 ,, ...	1 40	
			20 m. Breakfast.
Daventry	8 ,, ...	1 15	
Towchester	12 ,, ...	2 0	
Stony Stratford	8 ,, ...	1 10	
Redburn	27 ,, ...	4 5	
			30 m. Dinner.
London	28½ ,, ...	4 5	
	216	34 45	

(C.)—Rose, Hewitt & Co., Liverpool, May, 1816.

New Coach to York at 5 o'clock every morning.

	Miles.	Time allowed.	Time of arrival.
From Liverpool to Burscough	16	2 15	7 17

From Burscough to Preston	Miles, 16	Time allowed. 2 15	Time of arrival, 9 30
			20 m. Breakfast
Blackburn	8	1 30	11 20
Whalley	6	40	12 0
Gisburn	11	1 30	1 30
			30 m. Dinner
Skipton	11	1 20	3 20
Otley	15	2 5	5 25
Weatherby	14	2 5	7 30
York	14	1 50	9 25
	111	15 30	

(D.)—Glasgow and Edinburgh Coach: P. Bretherton and Co., 31 July, 1823.

Leave Liverpool, 1 p.m.	Miles.	Time of Stage.
Aughton	10	1 15
Burscough	7	50
Hoole	7½	52½
Preston	7½	52½
Office Duty.	—	10
Garstang	11	1 25
Lancaster	11	1 20
Burton	11	1 20
Kendal	11	1 20
Supper and Office	—	20
Hucks	8	1 5
Shap	8	1 0
Penrith	11	1 20
Hesketh	9	1 5
Carlisle	9	1 3
Office Duty	—	10
Sark Bridge....	9	1 5
Annan	9	1 5
Clarence Fields	8	55
Dumfries	8	55
(Break for Edinburgh).		
Breakfast—Change Coach, etc.		30
Con	11	1 20
Moffat	10	1 15
Crawford	15	1 50
Chester Hall	9	1 5
Lanark	11	1 20

	Miles.	Time of Stage.
Dinner and Office	—	30
Hamilton	15	2 0
Glasgow	11	1 20
	237	30 38
DUMFRIES TO EDINBURGH :		
to Thornhill	14	1 50
Dalvene	9	1 10
Crowford....	12	1 30
Biggar	15	2 0
Bridge House	12	1 30
Edinburgh	16	2 0

1822. DEPARTURES FROM LIVERPOOL.

P. BRETHERTON & CO., GOLDEN LION, DALE STREET.

Leeds, York and Hull : Royal Mail, every evg.	5 15
Do. do. Royal Neptune, every morning	6 45
Scarborough : Mail, True Blue, every morning	6 30
Harrogate : Mail, Tally Ho ....every morning	6 45
Do. do. every evening	5 0
Huddersfield and Wakefield : every morning	5 30
Do. do. every evening	4 0
Do. do. every evening	5 0
Halifax and Bradford : every morning	7 0
Skipton and Grazier : Sun., Mon. and Wed. mng.	7 0
Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Edinboro' : Royal Mail, every evening	5 15
Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Edinboro' : Royal Telegraph, every morning	6 30
Carlisle and Glasgow : every morning and evening	
Shields and Sunderland : Highflier, every morning	6 30
Bridlington : Royal Mail, Sun. and Wed. evening	5 15
Selby : Royal Sailor, every morning	6 30
Do. Mail, every evening	5 0
Blackburn : Royal Mail, every evening	5 15
Bolton : Dreadnought, every day, noon	12 30
Bolton and Blackburn : Mon., Wed. and Fri. mng.	6 0
Do. do. Duke of Leeds, every aft.	4 30
Bury and Rochdale : Neptune, every morning....	7 0
Do. do. Mail, every evening	5 0

Burnley and Colne : every morning (exc. Thursday)
Preston, Lancaster and Kendal : every morning, noon and night ....
Chester and Shrewsbury : Royal Liverpool, every morning 7 45
Chester : Bang up, every afternoon 4 0
Manchester : Defiance, morning 5 45
Do. Royal Mail 12 15
Do. Balloon 9 45
Do. Volunteer 1 45
Do. Retaliator 4 0
Do. Regulator 4 30
St. Helens and Wigan : Defiance, every afternoon 4 0
Stockport and Sheffield : every morning.... .... 5 30
Hereford, Worcester and Gloucester : every mng. 8 0
Bath : every morning. Buxton : every morning.... 9 30
London : morning, noon and night..... ....
Birmingham, Bristol, Bath and Exeter : mg. and ev.
Derby and North : Lord Nelson, every afternoon.... 4 30
Darlington, Durham, etc. : North Hero, morning 6 30
Do. do. do. evening 5 0

F. Bretherton & Co., Crown Inn, Red Cross Street, and White Horse, Dale Street.

Carlisle : every evening 7 0
Newcastle-upon-Tyne : Lord Exmouth, every aft. 1 0
Glasgow and Edinburgh : North Briton, every aft. 4 15
Port Patrick : Royal Mail, every evening.... .... 7 15
Carlisle, Kendal, Shap and Penrith : every mng. 6 30
Do. do. do. every evg. 7 0
London : Champion, every morning 10 0
Do. The Rocket, every afternoon 2 45
Birmingham, Oxford, Worcester, Gloucester, Bath, Bristol, etc. : every afternoon ....
Dumfries, Sanquhar, Kilmarnock : Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday.... ....
Whitehaven, Keswick, Cockermouth and Maryport : every morning 6 30
Ulverston (by land) : every morning 6 45
(This conveyance by the New road removes objectionable and dangerous, etc., crossing the Sands.)
Kendal : morning, afternoon and evening ....
Lancaster : 4 a day ....
Newcastle-upon-Tyne : 4 a day ....
Blackburn, Chorley, Bury, etc. : every morning 1 0

Morpeth, Alnwick, Berwick, Dunbar and Haddington : every afternoon 1 0
Manchester : daily ....
Halifax : Mon., Wed., Thurs. and Sat. mornings.... 6 45

B. Bretherton & Co., Saracen's Head, Dale Street.

Holyhead : Royal Mail, every afternoon 3 0
London : Royal Mail, every evening 7 45
Do. Alexander, every morning 8 0
Do. Umpire .... p.m. 1 0
Do. Defiance, every evening 7 0
Nottingham : Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday mgs. 7 0
Birmingham : Bang up, morning 6 0
Do. Regulator, Tues., Thurs., and Sat., a.m. 7 0
Bath and Cheltenham : every morning and evg. 6 0
Bristol and South Wales : morning and evening....
Manchester : Royal Mail, every day 12 0
Do. Coaches to and from 14 times every day ....
Chester and Shrewsbury : every morning.... .... 8 0
Do. do. every evening 3 0
Carlisle : Telegraph, every morning 6 45
Edinburgh and Glasgow : North Britain, every aft. 4 30
Newcastle-upon-Tyne : Lord Exmouth, every day 1 30
Preston and Lancaster : 3 times a day ....
Leicester and Derby : every morning 7 0
Do. do. every evening 8 0

THE GALLOWS MILL.

THREE LOCAL WINDMILLS.

By Charles R. Hand.

Read 24th November, 1921.

WINDMILLS are very prominent in the old views of Liverpool, and some are of special interest. Unfortunately the statements about them have not always been accurate, and it is desirable to place certain facts on record. The occasion has arisen by the discovery of the three drawings which accompany this article. These drawings, perhaps not of great artistic merit, are, I believe, unique, having never been seen in public before and having no duplicates, so far as is known. They are the property of Mr. Fred. Williams, who discovered them, and he has assisted in this paper by consulting and copying several maps. I am also indebted to the authors of the *History. of Corn Milling*, Brooke's *Liverpool*, and Stonehouse's *Recollections of a Nonagenarian* for interesting and valuable particulars concerning the mills.

I. The Gallows Mill.

Some confusion has existed concerning this windmill. In Herdman's *Pictorial Relics of Ancient Liverpool*, vol. ii., plate xliv. is inscribed "London Road and the Gallows Mills," and in his description of the picture, the author remarks :

"London Road . . . has been a place of considerable historical interest, and the plate is of especial value, as it contains a portion of the Pool which . . . . may be considered to have been the origin of the name of the town.

The stream from the Moss lake having passed across Pembroke Place, came by Daulby Street to the present wide opening before Monument Place, at which spot it is seen in the drawing. At the time the drawing was taken (about 1825), the Pool was a dank, sluggish stream, approaching its end . . . It commences at the left-hand, a little west of Stafford Street, where one of the old coaches is seen going out on its five hours' journey to Manchester. Next is seen the old Gallows Mill Public-house, which remained until a very recent date. The near ridge of land is occupied by the two mills which were known as the Gallows Mills, from various executions which had taken place there, not only of the rebels in 1715, but other criminal executions which have been chronicled in former works. . . . The author remembers everything in the plate exactly as it is there represented."

Picton states in his *Memorials of Liverpool*:[1]

"On the north side of London Road, between Stafford Street and Gildart Street, there formerly stood two ancient windmills and a large mill-dam. These were known for a century as the Gallows Mills, from the fact of four of the rebels captured at Preston, after the failure of the insurrection of 1715, having been executed here. The Gallows Mills were removed about 1820, but one of the miller's houses, originally thatched, remained for many years standing at the corner of Stafford Street, converted into a public-house."

He says further that :

"In the early years of the present century, from near Camden Street eastward, scarcely a house or building existed in London Road with the exception of the Gallows Mills, a little above the site of Monument Place."[2]

It appears necessary that the inaccuracies in the foregoing statements should be corrected.

In the first place it must be noted that *neither of the two windmills indicated was the Gallows Mill*; nor could they be considered "ancient," seeing that neither remained standing for more than one hundred years. There is no evidence whatever that "one of the miller's houses" was

[1] ii., 36, 362.
[2] ii., 505.

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" originally thatched." The stream which flowed past the front of these two mills had its origin at Gregson's Well, though it *was* augmented at this point by the flow from the Moss lake.

What really did take place in this locality?

Early in the eighteenth century four gentlemen who had been implicated in the Jacobite rebellion were publicly hanged close to Norris's mill, by the lane leading to Prescot. The Rev. Robert Patten, " who was an eye-witness " of the Battle of Preston, tells us[1] that these gentlemen were:

Archibald Burnett, of Carlips, who carried the Pretender's standard at Preston. He was " a Gentleman of comely Appearance: was afterwards Try'd, found Guilty, and Executed in Lancashire, at Liverpool."

" George Collingwood, of Northumberland, a Papist, of a valuable Estate: He was ordered for London, but was seiz'd with the Gout at Wigan, and from thence was carried to Liverpool, and there found Guilty, and afterwards Executed there the 25th of February. He was a very pious Gentleman, and well beloved in his Country."

Alexander Drummond, gentleman, " of Logie Drummond's 3rd Regiment of Foot."

" John Hunter, of Northumberland, executed at Liverpool, a Protestant; he was shot thro' the Leg at Preston."

Norris's was a water-mill which had been erected in this neighbourhood about 1587, or a little earlier, and which was still driven by the ancient stream. On the 2nd of July, 1715, the Corporation of Liverpool conceded to Mr. Gray the lease of a plot of land " in the lane leading by Mr. Norris's mill, towards the gibbet, to build a windmill." This new mill became noted throughout the district as the Gallows Mill; and it was here that, shortly before its construction, the Jacobites were executed.

In close proximity to the Gallows Mill, in a north-easterly direction, the Corporation ordered, on the 8th September, 1719:

[1] *History of the Rebellion in the Year* 1715.

" that Mr. Thos. Tyrer, who proposes to erect a windmill, have the lease of a small piece of ground att the south corner of Mr. Houston's field on the north side of the highway leading to Prescott, for three lives and twenty-one yeares, he building a mill thereon and paying two shillings and sixpence per ann. rent from Mich'as. next ; to be sett out so as not to prejudice the highway."[1]

In the following year (1720) a scheme of great importance to the town had been decided upon. As early as 1709 the question of the water supply had caused some considerable apprehension to the Corporation, for in that year Sir Cleave Moore obtained an Act of Parliament empowering the Liverpool authorities to make him a grant for bringing water to Liverpool from the springs at Bootle. But before advantage could be taken of this Act, the Moore estates were sold to the Earl of Derby ; and as a consequence the Act remained in abeyance for ninety years.

In 1720, however, a private company was formed, the shares being ten pounds each, and a reservoir was constructed on the stream flowing between the two windmills then standing. Everything went well until, in 1742, after a prolonged period of continuously heavy rains, the reservoir burst its banks, and the great rush of water did considerable damage, rising to the second floor of the dwellings in the low-lying parts of the town. The scheme was then abandoned and never revived.[2]

The third windmill, a short distance directly east of Tyrer's first mill, was built in 1749, and was the second mill erected by Alderman Tyrer upon these fields. It was purchased by John Dobson, a well-known miller and corn merchant,

[1] Picton, *Municipal Archives and Records*, ii., 62. In 1757 this mill had passed to Samuel Jones ; and in 1774 William Farrington was the occupier.

[2] *Municipal Archives and Records*, ii., 28.

in 1755. A little more than twenty years afterwards, it was offered for sale by public auction, by order of Dobson's assignees, as the following advertisement testifies :

" 1778. May 8. To be sold by auction . . . at the Golden Lyon, Dale Street, all that parcel of ground and the windmill, two houses and other buildings thereon erected, and the small garden, situate on the north side of the highway or road leading from Liverpool to Low Hill : bounded on the south side by a stone delph and the said highway, road, or lane ; containing by estimation 2 roods 12 perches. All the above premises are held by lease under the Corporation of Liverpool for three lives and twenty-one years, under a yearly ground rent of 10s., and were lately let to Mr. Isaac Smith at the yearly rent of £80. They are now in good repair, and very well adapted for a miller on account of their contiguity to the turnpike road."[1]

In the year 1800, William Rose, then lessee of the once-named Farrington mill, petitioned the Corporation to alter the clause contained in his lease concerning the lives, but was notified that his petition " cannot be granted until the mill be taken down to widen the road." Twelve years later, Edward Blackstock, gentleman, was, however, granted a similar request, on his own behalf, and also as executor for Edward Newsham, " subject to taking down in a limited time the said mill, as well as the public-house called ' the Barleymow,' for the widening of the said road."[2]

By the year 1788, the Gallows Mill had passed into the tenancy of Joseph Gerard, but the site being required by the Corporation for public improvements, on the 1st of October, 1788, during the mayoralty of Mr. Thomas Earle, it was :

" Ordered . . . that the mill called Gallows Mill be taken down, and that the Trustees of the Prescot Turnpike Road

[1] Bennett and Elton, *Hist. of Corn Milling*, iv., 203.
[2] *Ibid.*

be applied to for allowing a proportionable part of the expence, as it will be of great benefit to that part of such road."

The property was purchased by the Corporation for the sum of £700, as appears by the following entry in the official Ledger of that year:

"1788. September 10. Gallows Mill, N. side Prescot Lane. To cash paid purchase thereof, £700."

"The materials of the mill, known by the name of the Gallows Mill, situate on the Prescot Road, near Liverpool," were sold by auction at the house of Mrs. Murphy, in Whitechapel, on Monday, the 23rd of February, 1789; everything was "to be taken down and removed at the expense of the purchaser." The advertisement referred enquirers for further particulars to "the Treasurer's office in the Exchange"; and the sale realised seventy-one pounds, as testified on the credit side of the ledger:

"1789. February 24. By Cash received on account of old materials	£20	0	0
July 9. By do. do. do.	51	0	0

The origin of W. G. Herdman's picture is stated to be "a pencil drawing by Charles Barber in 1825." This pencil drawing was first copied by J. Innes Herdman, and subsequently re-drawn in a much improved manner by W. G. Herdman; and included, as before mentioned, in his *Pictorial Relics*.

It is not out of place to point out that the drawing is dated "about 1825" by Herdman; "1803" by Brown, Barnes and Bell; and "1796" by Mr. James Touzeau, in his *Rise and Progress of Liverpool*.

It appears singular that any misconception as to the positions and names of these windmills should have arisen. Mr. James Stonehouse, a valued

[1] *Municipal Archives and Records*, ii., 262.

member of our Society and a careful local antiquary, described the mills and their position in such detail that it seems strange that Herdman and Picton could go astray on the subject. Stonehouse stated in his *Streets of Liverpool*: [1]

"There were three mills hereabouts at one period. One stood in a field near Audley Street [this was Dobson's], with a wheel outside to turn the sails to windward, another adjacent to it [Farrington's], and a third on the opening to Stafford Street. This latter was called the Gallows Mill. This [name] arose from the circumstance that four Jacobites were hung in front of it [really, however, on the site occupied by it] in 1716, after the defeat at Preston. At the back of the Gallows Mill was at one time a large quarry, afterwards converted into a mill-dam. It was in shape like a 'Rupert's drop,' the thin end extending up London Road."

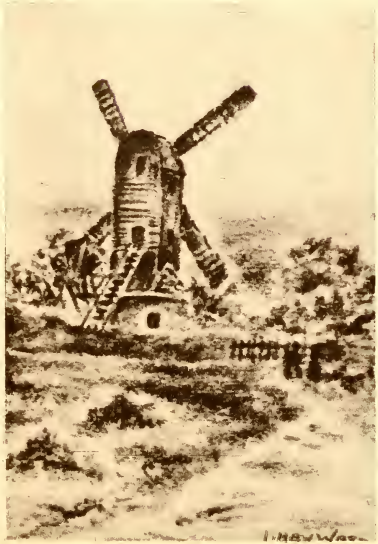
The picture reproduced, hitherto unrecorded, is an original water-colour drawing, measuring 21 by $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and signed "S. Herdman." An inscription on the back reads: "View of Gallows Mill and Inn adjoining, at the corner of Stafford Street and London Road, 1733." Its origin is unknown. On the extreme left is a small portion of the stream flowing behind the mill, next is the yard or garden with pigeon-cote, attached to the miller's house. This building, which appears at the time the sketch was made to have been converted into an inn or general store, has a flagged roof. Then comes the mill, on the left of which is a path across the fields coming out on to the Prescot Lane. Towards the right are the arches of the Fall Well, for a great number of years the only water supply to the town, and, just showing among the trees above, the cupola of the Blue-coat Hospital and the tower of St. Peter's. On the high ground is seen the spire of St. George's Church, and below it, to the right, the dome of the Exchange. In the

[1] 3rd Ed., 97

immediate foreground is the lane leading to the mill (later Stafford Street), which, winding towards the right, lower down joins the road to Prescot.

The maps confirm this picture. Yates and Perry's, of 1768, shows the three mills in their respective positions, with the miller's house belonging to the Gallows Mill. By 1785, a house had been built in close proximity to Farrington's mill, as shown on the plan by Charles Eyes, published this year. On the map issued by John Gore in 1817, we still see Farrington's mill, but it is now situated in the middle of Finch Street (afterwards Blandford Street, now Kempston Street), with the house adjoining. Evidently the Corporation had cut the street through the fields before this mill was demolished. Both Dobson's and Farrington's mills stand back a good distance from the main road. Stafford Street has been laid out, but no building stands on the eastern corner. Of the Gallows Mill and Inn there is, of course, no trace. On " The Plan of Liverpool and the Environs, containing the latest improvements, by J. and A. Walker, 33, Pool Lane," dated 1823, none of the mills are shown, although quite a number of then existing windmills are depicted. The London Road had been made straight from where the mile or boundary stone stood, cutting off the Gallows Mill, but leaving the mill-house a little distance from the corner of Stafford Street. It is, therefore, a logical deduction that this house, at the time of the making of Gore's map, had been taken down, and that the public-house incorrectly named the Gallows Mill Inn was erected at a later date.

The fact, however, must not be overlooked that plans of this description absorbed quite a number of years in the making. It is stated, for instance,



HARRINGTON MILL.

OTTERSPOOL FALL.

that Yates and Perry's map of 1768 was the work of ten years; so that every map here referred to must be ante-dated by a period extending from two to ten years.

II. Toxteth Windmill, Harrington.

The next picture is a small crayon drawing, measuring $6\frac{3}{8}$ by $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and signed "L. Hayward." It is one of a collection of about fifty similar drawings by the same artist, of views of Liverpool and vicinity, bought at a sale by auction of the effects of an elderly Liverpool lady, residing in Falkner Street, a few months ago. It bears the inscription on the back "Toxteth Windmill, Warwick Street, Harrington." The mill is clearly shown on Yates and Perry's map of 1768, a short distance south from the windmill which stood, when the roads were laid out, at the junction of Mill Street and Hill Street. The stream from the small pool or lake, where the embankment was afterwards made, and known as Mather's Dam, flows between the two structures, here forming another pool and falling eventually into the river.

This mill is casually referred to by W. G. Herdman in his *Ancient Liverpool*, in the following terms:

> "Further up, on the same side, was another mill, with a row of cottages, built about 1760, which stood high up from the road."

and is almost beyond a doubt the edifice we are now considering.

A further glimpse of it is obtained in Griffiths's *History of the Royal and Ancient Park of Toxteth*, where (after a reference to the Mill Street mill) he tells us:

> "the first object then met with was another mill and a few cottages standing in a field a few yards back from the

road at a point just beside where Warwick Street was afterwards cut through."

On Horwood's original large coloured map of 1803, mill sites are indicated in various ways, and at times the draughtsman's inconsistencies are confusing. The Mill Street mill is shown by a circle and named "Windmill," while the mill by Mather's Dam is marked as a large oblong, but is also designated "Windmill." In the present case, this windmill is denoted by a small square. Thus there does not appear to have been in the mind of the designer any idea of uniformity.

Unfortunately the artist has not given us the least evidence of surroundings, and we have no testimony beyond that of the inscription on the back of the drawing itself. But, accompanying, and mounted and framed along with this picture, is another drawing of similar style and dimensions. This is inscribed "Waterfall on the Otterspool Stream." This view, which was afterwards reproduced by the Nicholsons in their *Views of Liverpool and Vicinity*, in 1821, is known to be correct in all its details; and, judging by this fact, we seem justified in assuming that the drawing of the mill is as authentic and reliable.

Of its history I am ignorant, having failed to trace anything whatever as to its builder or occupiers; and I would be grateful for any particulars regarding it.

III. The King's Mill at West Derby.

A comprehensive history of this mill, from the year 1297 onwards, appears in *The King's Mills of Ancient Liverpool* (Richard Bennett) and *The History of Corn Milling* (Richard Bennett and John Elton).

The view of it which is here given is an unsigned water-colour drawing measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and named on the back "Old Mill at

THE KING'S MILL, WEST DERBY.

West Derby." It shows the mill standing by the right-hand side of the main thoroughfare from Liverpool to West Derby, overlooking the road sloping down to the village, the "certain way called Milne Gate, juxta the chapel of West Derby" (now Mill Lane); and, to the left, Larkhill Lane. It is depicted on Yates and Perry's map of 1768, the miller's dwelling being named "Mill-house," and on the accompanying "Series of Great Triangles," published in Enfield's, the mill is marked "Derby Wd. Mill."

I have not been able to discover any record of its destruction. In the *Liverpool Directory* for 1796 appears a list of charges to be paid by persons hiring a hackney coach, "as ordered and directed by the magistrates," on 15th December, 1789. The fare is there set down, from the Exchange to "Larkhill and Derby Mill, each 5/-."

One writer says, "The date of its disappearance does not appear; from the above it seems to have been remaining in 1796; but in the next directory in which the hackney fares are given, that of 1803, 'Larkhill, 5/-' occurs, without mention of the mill, which, presumably, had been by then pulled down." Another states that it was "taken down about 1805."

As a matter of fact, the mill appears among the list of fares in much later directories, thus:

1810 and 1811, "Derby Mill, 4/-."
1813 to 1821, "Lark Hill or Derby Mill, 4/6."
1823, "Lark Hill or Derby Mill, 3¼ miles, 3/6."
1825 and 1827, "Lark Hill or Derby Mill, 3¼ miles, 4/6."

In the *Directory* for 1829, however, the entry reads:

"Lark Hill or Mill Hill, 3¼ miles, 4/6"

so that, accepting the directories as evidence, the mill ceased to exist between the years 1827 and 1829.

THE KIRKBY FONT

By F. Charles Larkin, F.R.C.S.

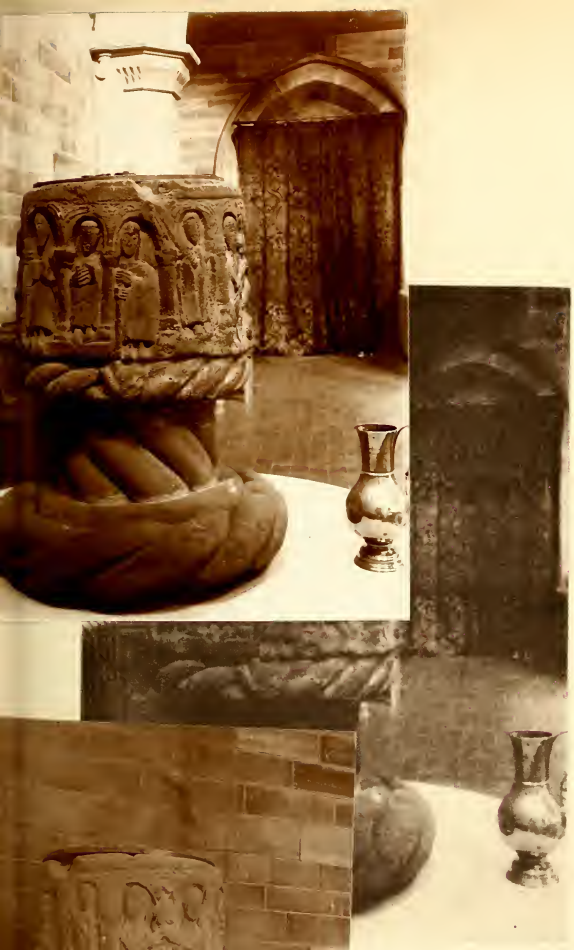
Read 27 November, 1919

THE ancient fonts at Walton and its chapel of Kirkby are happily still preserved to us, though the font at the former place was cast out in 1754 and adopted as a mounting-block by a neighbouring innkeeper, and at Kirkby the font was degraded into a water butt under the school-house spouting, the base serving as a plinth for a sun-dial in the incumbent's garden.

I have spent much time in investigating the history of this latter font, and in following up many collateral lines that might throw light on it and help to fix its date. There is a very good paper on Kirkby in our *Transactions* for 1853-4. It is by the Rev. Thomas Moore, and much of what he says is repeated in the 3rd volume of the *Victoria County History*.

The name Kirkby[1] appears in Domesday Book, suggesting that there was there a church of some sort in pre-Norman times, and on the modern cross, whose base is in the form of a recumbent St. Chad's cross, erected on the site of the ancient chapel altar, there is an inscription asserting that " the Danes found or built a chapel on this spot about A.D. 870." The favourite local tradition is that Chad himself founded a chapel here during one of his missions. If so, it would be 200 years earlier. There is no evidence beyond the name of the place, but the dedication is certainly

[1] Pronounced " Kirby."



BY FONT.

ancient and the name of Chad is otherwise connected with the spot, as the chapel records contain a terrier of about 1733 which mentions "one piece of land called Chad croft on the north side of the church yard." The present church was built in 1869-71, north of the chapel. The latter, of which a picture is given in the above-mentioned volume of our *Transactions*, was pulled down in 1872. It was a poor thing, built in 1766 to replace the ancient chapel, all we know of which is that it had a rood-loft. Some slight details of its plate and ornaments in 1552 are given in Raines' *Chantries* and in *Church Goods* (both Chetham Society). The *Victoria County History* conjectures that in early times Kirkby was a parish and became reduced to a chapelry at some unknown but early date. The font shows it has been a "baptismal church," at any rate, since the 12th century. It is often stated that at chapels-of-ease the priests were not allowed to baptise and that all children had to be taken to the parish church for baptism. No such rule can properly be laid down. Chapels-of-ease do not seem to have had any definite or inherent status. They were merely allowed for local convenience at local expense, without in any way lessening the obligations, financial or other, to the parent church. But they might have almost any powers and privileges they were strong enough to obtain and keep; if they had power enough behind them they might shake off obligations. Mr. Peet tells me that Liverpool Chapel had baptismal rights from quite early times.

When the Kirkby font was turned out of the chapel is not known and there seems to be no record of what took its place to help us. Probably it was at the time of the rebuilding in 1766. The

very great thickness of lime-wash that covered it certainly suggests a long sojourn under Puritan churchwarden guardianship. To this whitewash, however, we largely owe its preservation, such as it is, for the soft local sandstone of which it is made is easily weathered and worn away, and has gone wherever it was exposed. But the caked lime-wash stood, not only the weather, during all the time it acted as a cistern and was consequently saturated with water, but also resisted the industrious attention of the scholars with slate pencils and pocket-knives. For when Mr. Cort, the vicar, partially recognised its worth and promoted it from the office of school-house butt and hone to be the receptacle for the ropes and hooks in the bier-house, it still had a thick covering over all but the most prominent parts. Mr. Cort would not re-admit it to the church. This was done by his successor, Mr. Gray, in 1850, and the base was also returned from the vicarage garden to its proper place. The base and bowl are therefore old ; the shaft is modern.

The font has been mentioned by quite a number of writers, but their statements are almost without exception inaccurate and misleading and show no real acquaintance with the font. The only notice of any real value is Mr. Roberts' paper in our *Transactions* for 1853-4.

In order to know anything of works of this sort, especially if, like this, they are a good deal defaced, one must spend abundance of time so as to become thoroughly familiar with them. One must learn to know all the figures so as to recognise each individually as an old friend. The subject must be visited again and again, seen under all conditions of lighting, illuminated artificially from all points and photographed in all ways so as to get out all remaining detail.

Careful study must be made of how to bring out by very oblique illumination small shadows that reveal almost obliterated markings—quite invisible, at any rate at first, under direct illumination. It is often astonishing how distinct these become when once one has learnt to see them. Attempts should be made to photograph all such markings. One must not be sparing of plates, time, or magnesium ribbon. Small stops are essential. The photographs must be carefully studied with a lens repeatedly. It is of much advantage to make tracings of the negatives, showing the markings, and to compare them with one another and with the original at the next visit. One ought also to try to sketch all the detail. This can be done while exposures are being made.

The font has now been cleaned of its whitewash and stands on a new circular plinth in the western bay of the nave of the church. The ancient base is a great torse or coil—sinistrorsal helix—of two strands. Save in one spot, on the south side, the coil is quite uniform. Here, probably from a fault in the stone, one of the strands is split. I think the coil is very finely executed. Above the coil, worked in the same piece of stone, is a simple round. It forms a circle of about the same diameter as the font bowl, much smaller than the basal coil. The bowl is a cylindrical drum, lead-lined and drained. Between the bowl and the base is a modern shaft, shaped as a vertical spiral of many pieces. The bowl is 25½ ins. vertical; 26 ins. in external and 19 ins. internal diameter; and 3½ ins. thick. The depth of the lead lining is now 10 ins., but the vicar—Mr. Fenn, to whom I am indebted for much encouragement and hospitality while making this study—tells me the bowl is excavated to

twice that depth. The base is 9 ins. high and the shaft 10½ ins. Total height 45 ins. ; without the modern shaft, 34½ ins.

Round the lower part of the outer surface of the bowl is a coil or moulding of what appears to be two, or perhaps in some parts three, strands disposed, like the much larger coil below, in a left-handed twist. On it there are three heads. They have no ears, but are otherwise of the wolfish type often seen on snakes and dragons in early monuments. The Norse artists delighted in representing twisted and coiled serpents. They loved the maze of interlacing convolutions, in which we either get lost, or coming back to the starting-point without knowing it, go on and on again. These symbolised for them the infinite, eternity, as also did the old serpent, the Jörmungand or midgarthworm ; the dangerous monster that Odin attempted to destroy by throwing it into the sea, but which instead grew there so fast that it encircled the earth and being on the very edge of the world could only continue to grow by swallowing its own tail, and so had no beginning and no end. This monster the Norse sailormen saw on every horizon. To them every distant coastline might be the orm, and every headland the orm's or worm's head. The worm was also the Spirit of Evil—the enemy of the gods, whom, with the other powers of darkness, the gods will have to fight in the end " when Ragnarök shall come." Though his coils were not so frequently represented, yet he still lived on through the middle ages as " the old serpent " of the Revelations, and his head, with wide-open mouth, was the symbolical representation of the entrance to the bottomless pit—" the Hell-mouth " or " Jaws of Hell " we see on the Doom pictures that were painted above

the rood screens—a few of which have come down to us; we also meet with it in carving, painted glass and MSS.[1] The worm is not quite dead even now, for he lingers yet in the sailor's mind as the sea serpent.

Though, as I shall say later, the evidence compels me to consider it 12th century Norman, I cannot but look on the abundance of snake coils on the Kirkby font as evidence of strong Norse influence. The sculptor seems to have had at the back of his mind—and not very far back—the old Norse mythology, believed in by his ancestors till a few generations ago, and likely believed in by his own generation, though as professing Christians they, no doubt, did not think they did. Old ideas and beliefs, like dialect, die hard.

The use of interlacements and zoomorphic forms of ornament was, of course, very widely spread and not confined to any one stock. They are found from Ireland to the Levant and from Norway to Africa. What their source was, who were the originators and who the copyists is a subject of investigation and controversy, and in this connection it should not be forgotten that Lancashire was until 607 part of the Celtic kingdom of Strathclyde. In that year Æthelfrith of Northumbria by winning the battle near Chester, at which the monks of Bangor-is-y-Coed were slaughtered, separated it from the rest of Wales and initiated its conquest. Here as in so much of the rest of the country we do not know how many of the inhabitants or how much of their culture remained to influence the conquerors, nor to what extent the later Danish

[1] That the Hell mouth has Norse associations is supported by its frequent association with the Hell cauldron—the Norse sacrificial ketill.

and Norman conquests affected it. Nor must we forget the possibility of other influences, for many of these ideas were almost universal. The symbolising of eternity by a circle, or a circular coil or torse, or by a serpent swallowing his own tail, is very ancient and wide-spread. The latter was a favourite symbol with the early Christians and is often found on Gnostic gems.[1] But be the origin what it may, the idea the Kirkby sculptor wished to convey to the mind of the onlooker is quite clear. He wished by the great basal coil to express symbolically the belief that the principles for which the font stood rested on the eternal verities, or as more modern people would say, on the "Rock of Ages." Next, by the coil above, he wished to remind us of the also everlasting powers of evil for ever attacking mankind, the latter being represented by the human figures around the bowl.

A mere rope moulding is common enough in Norman, as well as in Saxon, work. A good example is seen on the old Wallasey font,[2] now, with no record, in St. Luke's, Poulton. There it is accompanied by the very Norman indented moulding. The genius of the Kirkby artist, revivified the inanimate rope into the circular coiled snake of his forefathers. The modern shaft is hopelessly incongruous. The Norseman's snakes were endless. The shaft is all ends. I believe the font should have no shaft, but should be a simple cylindrical "tub" or "drum" font, like, say, Brighton or Orleton.[3]

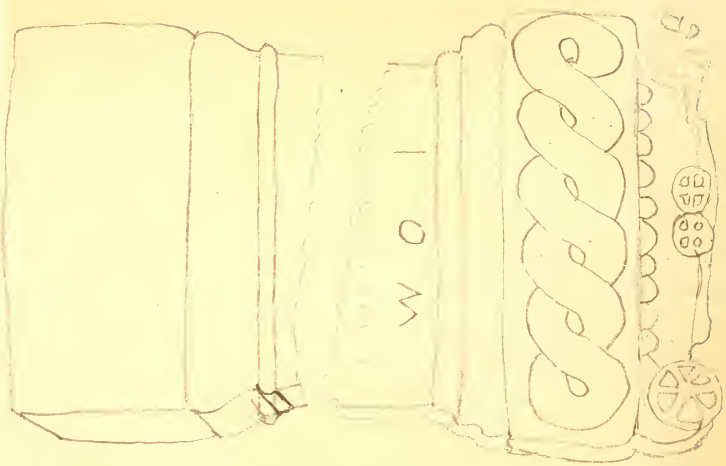
[1] See illustration in Twining, *Symbols and Emblems*; Rees, *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1898, "Norse Element in Celtic Myth," and Romilly Allen, "Interlacings," *ibid.*, 1899. Browne, "Scandinavian and Danish Sculptured Stones," in *Arch. Jnl.*, 1885. Parker's *Gosforth Crosses*.

[2] Illustrated in vol. liii of our *Transactions*.

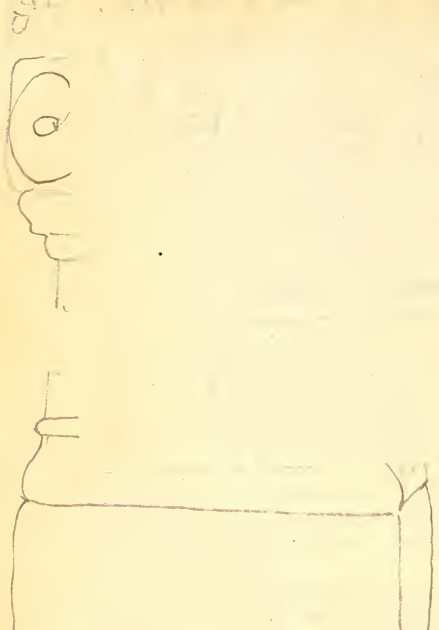
[3] Illustrated in Bond's *Fonts*.

dicate 371 DEA MATRES.
en goddesses were often represented as three.

Cat Roman Insc. Stones. Black Gate Museum.



Roman altar from Borcovicus
No 44 Black Gate Mus. Newcastle-o-T.



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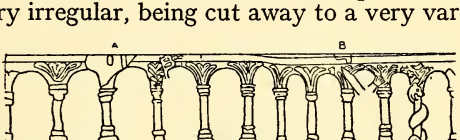
[2] Illustrated in vol. liii of our *Transactions*.

[3] Illustrated in Bond's *Fonts*.

Above the triple-headed serpent is the arcade. Such arcades are very common on fonts. They are simple and effective, and form a convenient series of niches for figure subjects either painted or sculptured. This arcade consists of eleven round-headed arches, irregular both in height and width, separated from one another by engaged columns. The columns stand on a plinth, which is very irregular, being cut away to a very varying



THE ARCADE.
A, B.—Holes for the lock staples.

degree beneath the figures, so allowing the feet to descend to different levels. The work is badly spaced out. Everything is irregular. The bases of the columns are stepped with members varying from two to six in number. Many of the shafts show a slight entasis. The capitals seem mostly to have had a necking and a square abacus. Between these is what may be a cushion capital, but the top corners of all that are not too much worn show little rounded tubercles, which are, I think, remains of the volutes of Corinthianesque early Norman capitals—earlier than cushion. The stepped bases one would consider, if they occurred in architecture, as typically Saxon. This is no doubt one of the reasons why so many have assigned this font to the Saxon period. But in decorative work types remain long after they have been discarded in construction. We find stepped bases on undoubtedly Norman fonts, as *e.g.*, Gillingham (Kent), there accompanied by

billet moulding above and chevron below. The Bayeux Tapestry commonly shows stepped bases. I cannot attach much importance to the entasis, as it is neither uniform nor symmetrical, and looks more as though it had been left to fill in than from design.

The capitals, like the bases, I consider decorative relics of earlier structural types. The arches vary much in span. The wider are practically semi-circular, the narrower stilted. Some are almost of horse-shoe form. The spandrels are filled with unplaited bands, usually two-stranded, with looped ends. They arise mostly from the top of the abacus and spread over the arches, forming a sort of palmette or flower ornament. I do not think it is a common kind. The pre-Norman standing cross at Addingham, near Penrith, has spandrels somewhat similarly filled, but the strands are single and more branched. The Kirkby double strand is more like that intricately laced on many Saxon or Celtic crosses, *e.g.*, Nevern (Pembrokeshire) Cross. What is most characteristic of the earlier work is the plaiting of the strand, which may be double, as at Nevern, but probably more commonly single, as at Winwick (Lancashire), Heysham (Lancashire), Leek (Staffordshire) and Eyam (Derbyshire).

There is nothing necessarily Saxon in the Kirkby arcade, nor, on the other hand, anything that would preclude Saxon date. There is an arcade very like it in one of the illustrations in Cædmon's Paraphrase, which is certainly Saxon. But, as I have already said, Saxon memories long lingered in Norman work. Almost the only font that is universally admitted to be pre-Norman is the one at Deerhurst (Gloucester), and that is almost covered by double-stranded spirals—an ornament Westwood designates as characteristically Celtic.

As far as I know, no font with an arcade of niches has reasonably established its right to be considered pre-Conquest. The Curdworth (Warwickshire) font, which will be found well illustrated in Bond's *Fonts*, may be Saxon, and before mutilation may have had something approaching such an arcade, but it is doubtful.

Above the Kirkby arcade is a plain band or fillet. In most of the circumference it touches the upper margin of the font, but on what is now the south-east side it drops about half an inch. Slowly leaving the edge above the figure I speak of as P.7, it descends over Adam and Eve and the Cherub and rapidly rises to regain the top edge beyond the figure of St. Michael. It may have been intended for an inscription, but if it ever was a label for such all has now disappeared.

The font has two pairs of holes for lock-staples in accordance with the well-known orders of the Church. They are now south-east and north-west.

I shall commence the description of the niches with those that are now east.

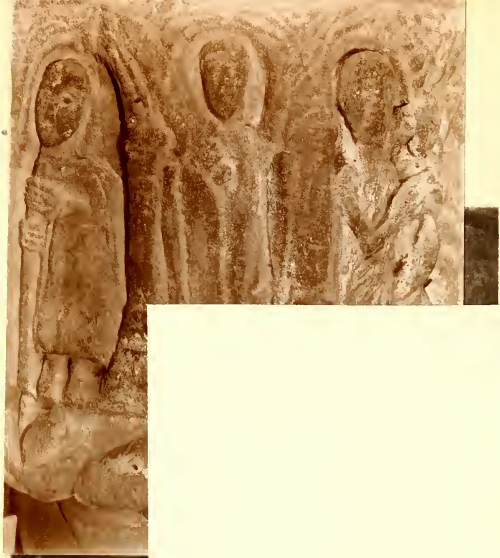
Two, with the intervening column, contain a conventional representation of the " Temptation of Adam and Eve." The column instead of being similar to the rest is made to represent the tree trunk with the serpent coiled around it and the branches spread over the arches. The tree is highly conventionalised with interlacing branches, reminding one of those on the Bayeux Tapestry. Among the branches are rounded lumps—no doubt the apples, and perched at the top is a bird. Somehow one cannot help being reminded of Loké, the Spirit of Evil, in the form of a crow, perched on the mistletoe, planning the death of the pure and beautiful Baldur. Coiled in a right-handed spiral round the tree trunk is the serpent, with a wolf-like head. He looks at Eve and has

an apple in his mouth, lest the one he has already given her should fail. On the East Meon (Hants.) font—one of the Tournai group—Eve is seen actually taking the apple out of the serpent's mouth. In a mural painting at Hardham Church, (Sussex), Eve takes a green apple from the jaws of a serpent with a wolfish head and a small pair of wings just behind his neck.

The Kirkby serpent has around his neck a beaded necklace of what Dr. Nelson says are " characteristic 12th century pearls." His tail is not pointed. The Mediævals did not, it would seem, consider a pointed tail " finished." It ends in a split knob, which may be another head, as there is something that may be an eye. Such are often seen—*e.g.*, on the St. Michael, or St. George and the Dragon lintel at St. Bees, illustrated in Calverley's *Sculptured Crosses, etc., of Diocese of Carlisle.*[1]

On either side are Adam and Eve. Adam has a slight moustache and a long, pointed beard. He is 15½ ins. high. Eve is 14½ ins. high. Between the tips of the fingers of the left hand she holds an apple which she is giving to Adam and he is receiving. Eve has a high hair-dress from which depends a long thick coil reaching down her left side nearly to the ground. The coil is right-handed and two-stranded. It is similar to the hair coil of the two female figures on the Gosforth Cross, only it is very much thicker and longer. Eve's face is much worn and her expression is now that of an edentulous old woman.

[1] The ancients believed in the existence of a sort of snake, called Amphisbena, with a head at each end, which could travel and otherwise act indifferently both ways. Mediæval bestiaries delight to moralise on this animal. They used him chiefly as a symbol of deceit—" Mr. Facing-both-ways." They also carried the idea further by putting a head on the tail of other animals to indicate that they were acting deceitfully. *Vide* Druce, *Arch. Jnl.*, 1910.



The niche next to Adam contains a figure 14 ins. high, standing on a slight elevation, with his left hand upraised, using the same sign language as the policeman on point-duty does to-day. He holds in his right hand a sword, which passes up obliquely over his right shoulder. Its blade is broad, with irregular edges. He is bare-headed, bearded, and was probably bare-footed, but his toes are too worn to allow us to be sure of this. He wears a long-sleeved ungirded tunic and on each side of him are long flattened objects reaching from his shoulders to his ankles. They are no doubt intended for folded wings. He is always recognised as the cherub with flaming sword expelling the erring couple from the garden. The sculpture is very crude, especially of the left arm. The tip of the sword points to one of the pairs of holes for the lock staples now broken away.

The figure under the next canopy is also 14 ins. high, but stands at a much lower level : so much so that his feet come into contact with the snake below, which at this point has a head. The figure holds in both hands a spear, which he is driving into the serpent's open mouth. He wears a long, loose ungirdled coat, or tunic, with very wide sleeves, so wide at the wrists that they would nearly touch the ground. He is, I think, bearded, and has a lot of hair, which seems to be confined by a sort of fillet. Behind his head is something that sometimes looks like a small nimbus, but it is very doubtful. His shape is very peculiar, and it is suggested that the idea was to give him a round back to indicate the force he is using in his spear-thrust. This figure is generally believed to be in reference to the passage of Genesis iii., 15, translated in the A.V. as: "I will put enmity between thee and the

woman and between thy seed and her seed. It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel"; and Romans xvi., 20: "And the God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly."[1] But, as the serpent is being speared as well as trodden on, it has been suggested to me that this figure is meant for St. Michael, who by overcoming the Devil reverses the office of the adjacent cherub.

This seems to me to be the better interpretation. The subject was certainly a favourite one. In either case, the idea is the same, but the view

St. Michael. Cherub. The Fall. P. 7.

here adopted is, I think, more in keeping with the mentality of the period.

This head of the serpent is a good deal worn, but suggests that the sculptor tried to make it so as not to appear upside down whichever way it is looked at.

The next niche commences a series of seven figures which have certain points in common. They all wear an outer sleeveless garment with a hole for the head and which hangs in a median

[1] At Parwich (Derbyshire) is an early Norman tympanum (illustrated in *Reliquary*, 1880) in which the Agnus Dei (symbolising Christ) and a hart (symbolising true believers) are shown treading serpents under their feet.

ST. MICHAEL AND THE DRAGON.

point in front of the legs and is doubtless a chasuble. As this is a vestment usually indicative of the priestly order, I have got into the habit of calling these figures " Priest 1," " Priest 2 "..... to 7, or shortly " P.1."..... " P.7." All that are not too much worn show toes, so probably all were bare-footed. The weathered and worn state of the surface has destroyed any tool markings indicative of hair that may have existed, but the shape of the face, especially as seen from the side, can, I think, only mean a short beard.

P. 6. P. 5. P. 4. P. 3. P. 2. P. 1.

THE "PRIESTS."

Given that they have beards, it will help us in dating the font. There seems to be pretty good evidence that in later Anglo-Saxon times priests, and people of importance generally, were mostly accustomed to shave the face; but the wearing of a beard gradually became more and more common during the latter half of the 11th century and by the 12th shaving, by ecclesiastics at any rate, had become exceedingly rare. They did not usually wear a long flowing beard, but " a short crisp beard and moustache." A good example of this type is the beard of St. Nicholas of Myra on

the Winchester font. On the slightly earlier Brighton font he is clean shaven.[1] The mixture of habit at the end of the 11th century is well illustrated by the Bayeux Tapestry where Duke William and Archbishop Stigand are shown maintaining the old fashion of clean shaving. Edward the Confessor is new-fashioned and bearded, while Harold adopts a middle course and shaves the cheeks and chin, but wears a moustache. In the representation of the Last Supper on the Brighton font all the figures are moustached, while only every alternate one has a beard. On the Orleton font[2] all the figures are bearded, as I believe they were at Kirkby. If I am right, it will suggest that the date of the Kirkby font is not earlier than the 12th century.

Mr. Roberts, judging from the illustrations in his paper, considered all the figures, except Adam, beardless, and perhaps it was partly on that ground that he concluded the font was Saxon. In trying to identify these seven figures he evidently looked round for things of which there were seven and chose "the seven orders of the Saxon clergy, according to the Canons of Ælfric," Archbishop of Canterbury (995-1005). Other things of which there are seven have been tried, *e.g.*, the seven sacraments, common enough on later fonts. But whichever set of seven is chosen, no one dares to be exact. They point out a few possibilities, suggesting that a figure or two may represent so-and-so, and then conclude by adopting some such expedient as Mr. Roberts does when he says that the rest may be seen "each attending to the duties of their respective offices with folded hands."

[1] Both are illustrated in Bond's *Fonts and Font Covers*. The beard was almost universal among priests till the middle of the 14th century, when shaving again became general and so remained for 300 years.

[2] Illustrated in Bond's *Fonts*.

Many points must be studied in any endeavour to identify such figures, and among these a most important one is the clothing. In studying the history of clothing we have to deal with two entirely different things, that we must be careful not to confuse with one another: (1) Actual ancient clothing itself, for which the materials are relatively scanty—often non-existent; (2) Representations of clothing by the various arts and crafts. The latter afford us quite a large amount of material for systematic study, but it does not seem to have been very thoroughly worked so far. A good deal of valuable work has certainly been done, but unfortunately much has been written that is inaccurate and even untrue; so one has to go back to the representations themselves or to careful reproductions of them, which are numerous.

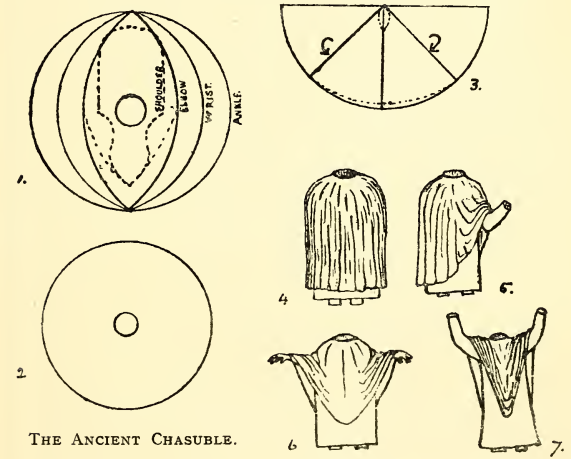
In studying such materials of mediæval times we must always bear two things in mind. First, that the dress is almost always of the time the representation was made and not necessarily at all like that of the time of the event it is endeavouring to portray. Secondly, representation is very largely conventional. Very few, if any, local masons or others, and indeed probably very few of the greater designers, where they existed, ever had posed before them carefully dressed living models. They constructed their figures, etc., in a conventional manner, as they had been taught to do. Further, these conventional representations were not attempts to depict the real in detail, but rather to emphasise some phase or aspect. Moreover, the artist always considered the design and altered nature to suit it; *e.g.*, he knew well enough in which hand the bishop should hold his crosier, but he would not hesitate to put it in the other if it so better fitted into the

composition. We continually see in representations in which two bishops appear, one on each side of the centre, that the artist puts the crosier in the right hand of one and the left of the other to make the design balance better. We must therefore be careful not to argue back to real life from the artistic licence of the sculptor. Moreover, we must not expect to have detail always correct. We have seen much incorrect military detail in modern war pictures, and we have doubtless missed much more. The eye only sees what the mind is trained to see and the hand only imperfectly portrays what the eye sees. For such reasons some consider all attempts to date from detail are necessarily futile. But unless we consider the artist as the product of his day and location all such archæological research comes to an end.

The first of the seven priests (P.1) is a little man—the smallest figure on the font. He is only 13 ins. high, and like the angel stands on an elevated plinth. He is tonsured on the top with a circlet of hair all round : *in modum coronæ*, as it was called—the characteristic tonsure of the Roman Church. As regards vestments, all that show are an alb, from neck to ankle and with sleeve to wrist, covered in part by a chasuble which ends in a point in front of his knees. This should be contrasted with the next figure (P.2), the point of whose chasuble is level with the lower edge of his alb. The left arm does not show. He may have lost it, but more likely it is beneath his chasuble. In his right hand he holds a book.

The form of the chasuble gives us some help in dating the font. The chasuble is descended from the *poenula* or travelling cloak of the Romans —popularly or provincially called *casula*—which

was very similar to the South American poncho, consisting of a single piece of material, with a hole in the centre, through which the head was put, and the material fell over the shoulders to the ground if long enough.(Figs. 2 and 4.) The *poenula* was worn by all—lay and cleric. In its earliest form as a vestment, as far as we know it from the 6th century Ravenna mosaics, etc.,



THE ANCIENT CHASUBLE.

it was perfectly circular and fell in folds from the neck and shoulders to the ankles. It was called *planeta*. There were no holes for the hands, which had to catch hold of things through it,[1] or pull it up over the wrists. (Fig. 6.) When such was done, and *a fortiori* when the hands were raised above the head (Fig. 7), it lay in folds and creases over the arms at the sides, while in front

[1] Some of the very archaic figures on the Curdworth font show a book being held through a vestment, the folds of which are very highly conventionalised.

and behind it fell to a rounded point. It can be easily seen that it must have been heavy and inconvenient, and it became the custom for the deacon to assist the priest to hold it up. As time progressed it became less and less a garment of protection and more and more an ornamental vestment, and thus, especially after the introduction of the practice of elevation, it evolved into a shape more suitable for that use. While remaining much the same length in front and behind, the sides were shortened so that the hands might emerge more easily and the arms when raised would not have to carry so much weight. (Fig. 1.) The early form was 4 ft. to 4 ft. 6 ins. all round. With the change of shape it got to be 3 ft., 2 ft., and even less at the sides, and so the oval or Gothic chasuble—the *vesica piscis* chasuble as it is often called—was evolved. It was still one flat piece, but when worn fell in a long point in front and behind, but had a deep notch at the sides between the front and back pieces in which the hand or even the arm appeared. Another method of lessening the weight of the chasuble was tried. Instead of using a full circle of material in one flat piece, part of the circle was used and folded to form a sort of cone like an extinguisher, lamp-shade, or bicycle cape. Usually half the circle (Fig. 3) of stuff was taken as in making a cope (but shorter), and instead of leaving it open in front like that vestment the straight edges of the diameter were united up the front from the circumference to near the centre where a space was left for the head to pass through, its sides being shaped to the neck. An ancient chasuble of this shape is preserved at Sens and has long been said to be the one worn by Thomas Becket while in exile there (1166-1170). Dr. Rock says that this was the type of chasuble worn by the

Anglo-Saxon priests. I find it not possible to accept this statement entirely even from so learned an authority. The lower edge in front of Becket's chasuble is pared away to make it two inches shorter than the back, while an Anglo-Saxon 10th century pontifical quoted by Bloxam (*Ecclesiastical Vestments, etc.*) orders the chasuble to extend " half-way down in front of the body, but much longer behind." This description closely corresponds with the shape of the chasuble Stigand is shown, on the Bayeux Tapestry, wearing at Harold's coronation.

Now the point to be observed is that the chasubles of the figures on the Kirkby font are not old-form circular chasubles, nor are they " Anglo-Saxon " chasubles, like Becket's or Stigand's, but are *vesica piscis* chasubles, short at the sides and pointed in front and no doubt behind also. This is particularly well seen in the case of the little P.1 figure, for though the left arm is not outside his chasuble, the notch remains and the front point is present. The diagrams show that in a circular or Anglo-Saxon chasuble there is no point unless both arms are out. The Kirkby font chasubles then have shaped front points, not merely adventitious ones. The new shape of chasuble did not come in till, at the earliest, late in the 11th century, and probably not till the 12th, and the old form remained in use for some time after, as we still find it on later monuments, *e.g.*, on the figures of the Orleton font, which in other respects is later than the Kirkby one. No doubt many beautiful vestments bequeathed to churches were prized and carefully kept even for centuries ; though I regret to say that most that have come down to us are dreadfully hacked and mutilated to make them into more fashionable shapes without the least regard

to their design and ornament. As the 12th century progressed the front of the chasuble is said to have got shorter and shorter. This seems, generally speaking, to be correct; but as far as Kirkby is concerned it is no help, as the length varies a good deal on the different figures. (Compare P.1 and P.2.) From the shape of the chasubles on the Kirkby font I think we are certainly entitled to say that it is not earlier than very late in the 11th century, and probably later. The chasubles and beards confirm one another in saying it is not Anglo-Saxon.

One other word before leaving the chasuble. It has been said that Mr. Roberts was necessarily wrong in supposing the figures could represent "the seven orders of the Anglo-Saxon Church," for inasmuch as they all wear chasubles none could be in lower than priests' orders. It is true that the chasuble is the eucharistic vestment of the priest, but it has only gradually become so restricted in its use. Pugin in his *Ecclesiastical Ornaments* quotes the Sacramentary of St. Gregory to show that all orders of churchmen in those days wore the *planeta*. He also transcribes Ordo viii. of the most ancient Roman *ordines*, which, dealing with the acolyte, says "induunt clericum illum planetam." It is also laid down that the subdeacon should hold the maniple of the bishop in his left hand on his chasuble doubled back—"super planetam revolutam." "As late as the 9th century Amalarius tells us that the chasuble was worn by all clerics." The Oxford Dictionary says "by the Council of Ratisbon (742 A.D.) it was decreed as the proper dress for the clergy *out of doors*." Also that "as the most ordinary of garments, it was worn by monks." Dominicus Georgius (Giorgi) the Italian ecclesiastic and antiquary (born 1690, died 1747),

says that the habit of both acolytes and lectors " during the first 12 centuries " was a girded alb and plain chasuble, but that the chasuble was put off in the presbytery when they performed their normal duties. On the other hand, Honorius of Autun is quoted as saying that before the 12th century the four minor orders of the clergy wore a superhumeral, alb and girdle only. If so, he must have been referring to what they wore when actually officiating, and even then he forgot the stole and maniple worn by deacons. I read that even to-day some of the lower orders of the clergy sometimes officiate with a folded chasuble over the shoulder instead of a stole. It would seem, therefore, that the mere fact of wearing a chasuble does not prove an early figure to be a priest. So vested he may still be intended for one of the minor clergy.

There is on no figure any sign of amice or maniple, and probably none of stole either. The amice, though introduced as a vestment in the 9th century, was long only wrapped round the shoulders under the alb and did not show. Later it had a parure or apparel which was very conspicuously turned down over the alb to meet the chasuble. But I do not think it ever shows in monuments till well in the 11th century, and by no means usually then. It does not show even in the 12th century sepulchral effigy in Salisbury Cathedral usually assigned to Bishop Roger (ob. 1139) but which Bloxam thinks is Bishop Jocelin's (ob. 1184). So it may well be absent in an out-of-the-way corner like Kirkby about the same time. The stole and maniple are very early vestments—8th century or before. It might quite fairly be argued from their absence that the figures are not vested for any service but are wearing the chasuble as an ordinary garment,

like Abbot Elfnoth, in the well-known picture[1] wears it—without stole or maniple—when presenting his book to St. Augustine (representing the monastery), who has a stole but no maniple. One must not, however, rely too much on the sculpture alone, as these works were afterwards coloured and further detail was added by the painter. It would be interesting to know whether when the whitewash was removed from the Kirkby font any traces were found of gold or colouring. As far as I can learn, no record was kept.

The next priest (P.2) is 15¾ ins. high. His feet reach down nearly to the lower edge of the plinth, and his chasuble nearly to the lower edge of his alb. On the latter are some slight vertical markings, plainer on the left side. They are probably pleats, but may indicate a stole. The left arm is seen very clearly to come out of the gap or notch between the front and back portions of the chasuble. He has a book in his left hand, which he holds with his thumb on the open page and his fingers on the back. With his right hand he grasps, a little above the middle, a long staff, which reaches from his shoulder to his ankle. It is rounded at the upper end and gradually tapers downwards. The lower end is sharply pointed and separated from the rest by a sort of neck or ferrule. I consider him pretty clearly bearded. His forehead is smooth and rounded, and appears to have no hair. It certainly does not show the corona of hair and bare top like his little neighbour.[2] This may have no meaning. Bald-headed men lived then as now, But it is possible, though perhaps not probable, that it may have a

[1] Harleian MS. 2908 (probably 11th century).

[2] Low down on his forehead there is a sort of inverted V. This is due to wear and weathering of the part below, which I expect was denuded of whitewash and so became exposed.

meaning, especially if (as I suspect) the figures are connected with St. Chad's history. It is possible that this bare forehead may be tonsured in front, as was the habit of the ancient British and Irish priests—what was called the Scots' tonsure.

It will be remembered that from the time of St. Augustine to that of St. Chad a great controversy existed between the British and Roman churches concerning *inter alia* the time of keeping Easter and the shape of the tonsure. The Latin ecclesiastics prevailed at the Synod of Whitby, so graphically described by Bede, and most of the English clergy, including Chad, accepted the decision and conformed.

The figure, P.2, might have been intended to represent Chad as a monk of Lastingham, wearing the Scots' tonsure of his youth. On the top of his head is a sort of cap. The Anglo-Saxon and Norman monks wore hooded cowls and chasubles with hoods were also worn; *e.g.*, the chasuble of Abbot Elfnoth in the above-mentioned illustration. Such hoods usually cover the ears, as in the representation of the Last Supper on Brighton font,[1] but some did not, as in Chaucer's picture in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*. This P.2 cap reminds one more of Archbishop Wulfstan's (ob. 1023) in a contemporary drawing reproduced by Strutt.[2] In some photographs there is a suspicion of a similar knob on the top.

The next figure (P.3) is very definitely barefooted, all his toes showing clearly. His right hand is raised in the act of giving the benediction in the Latin manner, while in his left he holds something, the nature of which I shall have to discuss at some length. The sleeves of the alb

[1] Bond's *Fonts*, 162.

[2] *Dresses and Habits of England*.

show well at the wrist, and the point of the chasuble reaches its lower edge. On the right side of the front *lamella* of the chasuble are two marks—the upper crescentic, the lower a full circle. These may not be original. Over the upper edge of the chasuble two other garments show very clearly, but only one shows below, and on this there are wavy markings, as if it was made of hair. The Anglo-Saxon and Norman priests did wear a skin and hair garment—the pelisse, but normally it would not show, as it was worn under the alb or surplice. The latter was indeed an alb made sufficiently roomy to cover the pelisse and was called the superpellicium. He is 15 ins. high, and wears a mitre. The elevated arm, like the angel's, is crudely done. It is more like the joint of a crab than an arm. But the chasuble is managed quite well. The blessing hand is enormous. This was the conventional way of drawing attention to a part. Compare it with the still more enormous bound hands of St. Peter on the above-mentioned Curdworth font. The Norman sculptor never worked to scale, but enlarged and brought out prominently what he wanted seen. In this case he wished to emphasise the fact that this figure was giving the blessing.

The next in order (P.4) is the same height as P.3, and like him is bearded, mitred and barefooted. He also shows two vestments above the chasuble head-opening. This is not so clear as in P.3, but the top of the second shows clearly as a definite notch on the right side of the neck. All the figures but P.3 and P.4 show only one vestment about the neck above the chasuble opening. The front of the chasuble does not reach quite to the lower edge of the alb and the latter has the same sort of woolly markings as that

of P.3. In his left hand he holds a book and in his right is a long object which ends below in a volute. This has usually been considered to be a crosier and I took it to be such, but was surprised to find it being carried upside down. I could find no example of a crosier so carried, though I found several ancient representations of weapons being inverted at funerals as to-day.[1] Looking carefully one day at the Kirkby font, I noticed that while the edge of the so-called crosier that is furthest from the figure can be traced clearly right up almost to the upper margin of the font overlapping the fillet, the nearer edge is only clear to the arch of the niche. Above that it has attached to it three strips, separated by two hollows, which pass over the top of the arch and cover the fillet or label. I came to the conclusion it was not a crosier, but a key, and made tracings of it and diagrams of what I thought its wards had been before being altered by wear and weathering.

Some with whom I discussed the matter said it was too big for a key ; others that a key would never have such a crook-like handle. There is, however, the centre panel of a 13th century ivory triptych in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool, which has in the lower division, in the centre, a carving of the Virgin and Child with, on her left St. Paul with a huge sword, and on her right St. Peter with a key quite as large in proportion as the object on the Kirkby font. So size does not rule a key out. It only emphasises it. As regards the handle, I believe I have seen similar handles in museums, but cannot recollect where. There appears to be little literature of key history. *Primitive Locks and Keys*, by Pitt Rivers, gives

[1] The right-hand figure in the view of the Orleton font in Bond's *Fonts and Font Covers*, appears to hold a short staff with a volute at the lower end, but what looks like a volute is really the folds of a chasuble of the old form.

little help as regards handles. I have wandered in all directions which might prove fruitful, as far as time and opportunity allowed, and have sketched all the interesting keys noticed. Keys have varied a good deal in shape, but perhaps less than one would have thought. Keys were not always *turned* in locks, and probably the usual Anglo-Saxon key with wards on both sides was not. But Anglo-Saxon keys were not all of this shape. We meet with keys much like those of to-day in Anglo-Saxon and Roman times. The handles are usually very much like modern ones, but may be quite straight with or without a hole through them, or they may end in a ring, loop or knob or some highly decorative termination. They were very commonly carried attached to a sort of chatelaine called clavandier,[1] suspended from the girdle. The ring of attachment assisted in making the turn and some large keys had a hinged lever attached for the same purpose.[2] But after all the actual form of the key itself is one thing and its representation in art another. It is certainly quite common to see in illustrations, *e.g.*, in the hand of St. Peter, keys one could hardly consider to be any use in real life. Stowe MS. 944, British Museum, is a register of Martyrology written about 1016-20. It shows St. Peter letting the blessed into heaven, and St. Michael keeping the door of hell. Peter's keys are a pair suspended from a ring. Michael's have perfectly straight handles with no ring, loop, or knob to help in the turn ; with one of these he is locking the door. In St. Ethelwold's Benedictional several keys are shown. Most have straight handles. One, a very large one, has a ring suspended from the end of the stem and the

[1] The person who carried the keys was called Claver. For illustration see *Arch. Jnl.*, 1876.

[2] Coptic type ; *Archæologia*, vol. 48.

wards are bi-lateral with the addition of a large cross paté at the end. The wards of St. Peter's keys are very commonly in the form of a cross—the symbolism being: The Cross, the Key of Heaven. There is a very good example of this in 15th century painted glass at Wodmansterne, in Surrey. Both the handle and wards are in cross form.[1] At the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula, Rome, are kept some iron chains said to have been brought from Jerusalem by the Empress Eudocia[2] and to be those with which St. Peter was bound. Small fragments or filings of these were considered most holy relics, and the reliquary containing them was usually in the form of a golden key, called a St. Peter's key. Photographs of some of these then surviving are reproduced in the *Archæological Journal* for 1890. They show the wards always in the form of a cross. Westwood, *Anglo-Saxon MSS.*, illustrates a key with a round ball at the end of the shank. Pitt-Rivers gives an Anglo-Saxon key with the shank ending in a simple three-quarter circle loop and keys with similar loops found at Sleaford are illustrated in *Archæologia*, vol. 50. In a Cotton MS. of the time of Henry I. (1135), illustrated and described in *Archæologia*, is a key with the handle ending in a twist towards the ward side and a curve in the opposite direction is to be seen on a sculptured Norman capital from Lewes Priory (*Archæologia*, vol. 31). In Perret's *Catacombes* St. Peter is shown with keys having somewhat similar handles.[3]

On the reliquary of St. Moedoc—an Irish shrine to be mentioned later—there is a series of figures which probably represent the Apostles. Three

[1] Illustrated in *Archæol. Jnl.*, 1847.

[2] Or Eudoxia, wife of the Roman Emperor Theodosius II, A.D. 440.

[3] See also Fox-Davies, *Art of Heraldry*; keys on "arms" of Emir Arkatay.

on one plate I take to be : in the centre St. John with his cup or flask, on his right St. Paul with his sword, and on his left St. Peter with his key. Everything is very decoratively treated and the emblem which seems to be a key has its handle ending in a volute exactly like that on the Kirkby font. The other end is partly covered by the Apostle's flowing hair. It ends in a cross pommé. If there were wards where the hair covers it, it would be quite similar to the big key in St. Ethelwold's Benedictional, but with a cross pommé at the ward-end instead of a cross paté, and a volute instead of a ring at the end of the handle. I most certainly think it is meant to be a St. Peter's key with the cross-the-key-of-heaven symbol. In very early representations of St. Peter he is said to carry a cross and not a key.

I have not been able to find an unequivocal example of a key with a handle exactly like that on the Kirkby font, but, I submit, I have come very near to it. In the absence of actual proof, appeal to authority is not unjustifiable, and I wrote to ask the opinion of the British Museum authorities. Sir Hercules Read very kindly replied as follows : ". . . . There can be no doubt that the figure you give represents a key and it is by no means unknown for the handle to be a mere curl of iron as seen there."

Mr. Roberts considered the head covering of P.3 and P.4 to be the amice drawn over the head in the way it was worn in early times[1] and still is by certain orders ; but I do not think it is so intended. If it were so, the lower edge would not be horizontal and the ears would not show. It is very commonly stated, but I cannot find on what authority, that before the 10th century

[1] See illustrations in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.*

bishops wore "head-linen"—fine flaxen cloth bound flat to the head and confined by a strip of the same material encircling the head and fastened at the back with long ends hanging down, and that out of this the mitre was developed. It is further stated that over this they wore gold and jewelled crowns—like the confessors and others in St. Ethelwold's Benedictional (10th century), or a circlet of gold like that shown on the figure of the Trinity and on St. Benedict in the same work. For my part I do not think that these illustrations are meant to represent terrestrial life, but celestial crowns. Moreover, they are not shown worn over head linen, but on the scalp direct. The Rev. Percy Dearmer, in his *Ornaments of the Ministers*, states that the earliest known representation of a mitre of any kind is on a coin of Bede's friend Egbert, Archbishop of York, 734-766. He says it was a white linen cap very similar to the Phrygian cap or Frigium worn by the Roman freedmen when they shaved their head. Neither the head-linen nor cap seems to have been an official dress. They may have been worn as a protection, especially out of doors. For St. Augustine, quoting St. Paul as his authority, forbade the clergy, as well as the laity, to wear any head covering during divine service (Planché). Bishops in Anglo-Saxon times are certainly usually represented bare-headed, like St. Sextus on the early 10th century maniple of St. Cuthbert found at Durham[1] or Archbishop Stigand[2] already mentioned.

There are no early orders or regulations concerning the mitre. Dr. Rock says: "No writers on ecclesiastical dress before the 11th century mention it." Ivo of Chartres, who died in 1115,

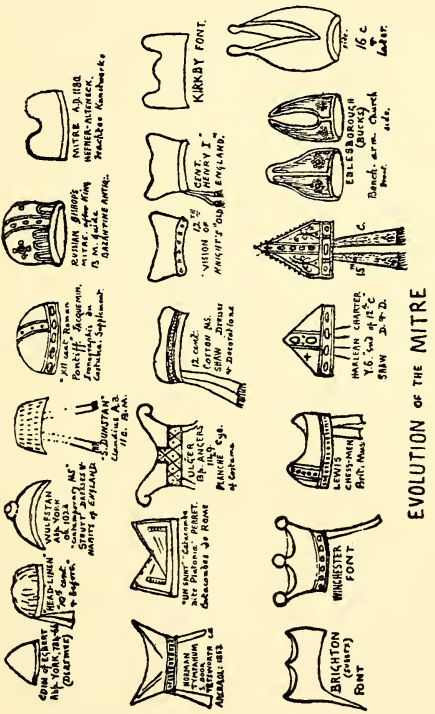
[1] Illustrated in Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, p. 33.

[2] Bayeux Tapestry.

writing on Jewish and Christian priestly dress, mentions no Christian equivalent of the Jewish mitre. The mitre seems at first to have been a special and personal distinction conferred by the Roman Pontiff and was not confined to the clergy. Pope Alexander II. in 1163 conferred the mitre as well as the pallium on Burchard, Bishop of Halberstadt,[1] as a special honour on account of his great services to the Holy See, and he also, as a special mark of esteem gave Wratislas, Duke of Bohemia, permission to wear the mitre. Pope Innocent II. gave the same honour to Roger, Count of Sicily.[2] Early in the 11th century we begin to come across episcopal head covering worn apparently as official dress. It was then in the form of a skull cap, and sometimes had a sort of bob on the top of it, as in the picture of Archbishop Wulfstan, already mentioned.[3] Generally it had streamers, *infulae* or *vittae*—fringed at the ends, and sometimes so broad as to make it almost a hood. The earliest representation of the skull cap with *vittae* that I have seen is on two figures on the well-known British Museum MS., Claudius, A.3—the centre figure, usually called St. Dunstan, and one of the kneeling figures.[4] A 12th century Roman Pontiff is shown in a similar round-topped mitre in an early MS. reproduced in the supplement to Jaquemin's *Iconographie du Costume.* This form by gradual increase in height developed into the recognised mitre of the Russian bishops. In Western Europe the round top soon received a front to back indentation, exactly like that of the soft felt hat of to-day. A mitre of this form,

[1] Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel.*
[2] See Planché, *Cyc. of Costume.*
[3] *Vide* description of P. 3.
[4] Dearmer points out that the centre figure is shown by the emblem of the whispering dove to be St. Gregory the Great. The kneeling figure is St. Dunstan.

dated about 1180, is illustrated in Hefner-Alteneck's *Trachten Kunstwerke*. In the middle of the 11th century we often find the side elevations as high points. There is a good



example of this shape in the early Norman sculptured tympanum of the south door of Tetsworth Church, near Oxford. The early coffin lid of Bishop Ralph (ob. 1123) in Chichester Cathedral has on it a mitre of this form along

with an early type of crosier.[1] A very similar head-dress is illustrated in Perret's *Catacombes de Rome*. Its date I will not guess. In some places these side peaks developed into rounded horns or volutes, as is well seen in the beautiful reproduction of the effigy of Ulger, Bishop of Angers, 1149, in Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume*. But they seem usually to have tended to get smaller and at the same time an elevation began to appear in the centre of the hollow on the top of the head. This is well seen in the illustration from the *Vision of Henry I.* (ob. 1135) reproduced in Knight's *Old England*. This central elevation grew into a front to back ridge, and this is the shape worn by the two mitred figures (P.3 and P.4) on the Kirkby font. The next stage in development was the growth of the front and back ends of this fore and aft ridge into elevated points. This type is well seen on the font at St. Nicholas' Church, Brighton (Sussex), and if we ornament each point of this mitre with a ball we get the mitre of St. Nicholas on the Winchester font. The next change was for the side elevations to disappear altogether, and so is produced the early form of the present type of mitre. It is well illustrated with ornamental band and titulus by the bishop of the Lewis chessmen in the British Museum. The chief subsequent change was the gradual growth in the height of the front and back elevations. In the 13th century they were 6 ins. high. The beautiful Limerick mitre of the early 15th century is 13 ins. Ultimately, in the 16th century and later, they got grotesquely elevated and ogeed.

The mitre that is kept as Becket's at Sens, if the one he really wore, would show that Sens was nearly half a century ahead of the rest of the

[1] See illustration under Coffin, Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*.

world in this matter. Shaw, who carefully illustrated it in his *Dresses and Decorations*, evidently had his doubts. It is $7\frac{1}{8}$ ins. high, and therefore higher than 13th century mitres usually are. The point is exactly a right-angle. Harley Roll, Y.6, Brit. Mus., is a late 12th century vellum roll, giving the life of St. Guthlac, the hermit of Crowland. In one of the illustrations he is shown being ordained priest by Bishop Hedda, of Winchester,[1] who wears a mitre like the one at Sens, with a right-angle point, but not quite so high. This strongly confirms the view that the Sens mitre is at least 13th century, and the change from side to front and back elevations took place shortly before the end of the 12th century.[2]

The Winchester font is fairly accurately datable. It is one of the Tournai fonts, " shop-made " and imported into England, it is believed, by Bishop Henry of Blois (bishop 1129-1171) and given to the cathedral. It has cushion capitals on the " cathedral," which shows it is later than the Kirkby font with its Corinthianesque capitals. It has plantain leaf capitals on the corner shafts of the support and these are later still. We shall not be far wrong in dating the Winchester font about or soon after the martyrdom of Becket

[1] The words on the roll are: " Guthl' Sac'dotiu' [sacerdotium] suscipit a Hedda ep'o [episcopo] Wintoniensi."

At the time of Guthlac (663-714) there were two bishops with similar and variously spelt names. They have been much confused with each other. One usually called Hedda was Bishop of Winchester from 676 to 705. The other, usually spelt Headda, was Bishop of Lichfield, 691-720. (See Searle, *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, etc.*, 1899, pp. 64 and 128.) As has been seen, the Harley Roll ascribes Guthlac's ordination to the former. The *Acta Sanctorum*, April 11, prints the Felix Life of Guthlac, in which, while the name of the ordaining bishop is given as Hedda, his diocese is not mentioned. The Editors, however, agree with the roll in identifying him with the Winchester prelate. On the other hand, the D.N.B. suggests he was the Bishop of Lichfield.

[2] The bishops on the stone with Ogham inscription at Bressay, Shetlands, usually attributed to a much earlier date, have low mitres, pointed in front and behind. *Vide Reliquary*, 1884-5.

(1170). The detail of the Brighton font is distinctly a little earlier and Kirkby in development is earlier still. In actual date, however, it is highly probable that it would be a little later, for when dates can be actually fixed by written records or otherwise it is usually found that local work in out-of-the-way places is a good deal behind in development. It is, of course, impossible to be exact, but taking all the evidence into consideration I do not think we can reasonably fix the date of Kirkby font earlier than the last quarter of the 12th century, and to that time I attribute it.

I am now going to claim that I have reasonably established that the two figures P.3 and P.4 are mitred, and therefore intended for bishops; that P.4 has a key in his hand, and is therefore intended for St. Peter. Who is the other bishop meant to be? The only distinctive thing about him is the object he carries in his left hand. The carrying of some sort of staff was very usual in ancient times. The traveller or pilgrim used one to help him along, to sling his pack or wallet, and, if needs be, for defence. Before seats were so frequent people rested a good deal on sticks and staves. In the middle ages there were no seats in churches, and people, especially the aged, leaned on staves or sat on crutch sticks during long services. St. Aldhelm leaned on his staff through so long a sermon that it took root in the ground where it rested, and actually blossomed in his hand before the preacher had finished his discourse, and ever since the blossoming staff has been St. Aldhelm's emblem. The staff was naturally the sign of the elderly more than of the young, and in the Church quite early got to be a recognised characteristic of a bishop. Further, the carrying of a staff as an emblem of

authority is a very widespread custom from the sceptre of the sovereign to the wand of the conjurer. By the 6th century the staff had become a recognised episcopal ornament, being mentioned as such in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, but it had no definite form fixed by custom or authority. The Rev. F. G. Lee, in *Archæologia*, vol. 51, says: "The earliest representations of an official staff in the hands of an apostle, pope, patriarch, or prelate appear to be quite plain; sometimes without knob or ball on the top or any kind of addition or ornament." He gives no illustrations, but says that such staves are represented in mosaics, paintings or sculpture at Rome, Venice, Torcello, Padua, Milan, Pavia, Perugia, Zara and Pola. It was customary to represent the Deity in papal or episcopal robes, and in Cædmon's Paraphrase the Creator is always so robed and carries a short straight baculum. The ancient wooden staff at Trèves, reputed to be that of St. Peter, is also quite straight. It is now cased in silver with peep-holes of crystal.

The staff was often ornamented. An early form was a globe at the end, or two globes, or a globe surmounted by a cross. The latter became the official form of the Maronite bishops, and we still meet with it on official staffs in this country, as on the royal sceptre and on many maces and wands of office. Another much used form was the Tau-staff or crutch stick. It seems to have been official at one time, and appears on the well-known seal of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and in vol. 21 of *Archæologia* a seal of Geoffrey,[1] Bishop of Lincoln, dated 1174, is illustrated, showing him carrying over his right shoulder a pastoral crutch. The "crutch stick of St. Thomas of

[1] Son of Henry II. and Fair Rosamond.

Canterbury" was one of the most prized relics of old St. Paul's, London. Many such Tau-staves —some beautifully carved—are to be seen in the museums of this country and the Continent. It was adopted as the official form by the Oriental prelates.

The short curved divining rod, *Lituus*,[1] of the Roman augurs is said never to have disappeared as an emblem of office and out of it grew the crook of the western bishops, influenced probably by the frequent representation in the catacombs and elsewhere of the Good Shepherd, crook in hand, surrounded by His sheep. In early times the crooked staff was usually much shorter than it was later. St. Nicholas' crosier on the Brighton font is quite short. Not infrequently they were as short as an ordinary walking stick (about a yard).[2] The favourite wood seems to have been yew. The crosier of St. Melis (Irish, 12th century) is 3 ft. 0½ in. The beautiful Clonmacnoise crosier (9th or 11th century) is 3 ft. 2 ins. The quigrich of St. Fillan of Aberdeenshire was the old saint's plain straight staff. All that now remains is the beautiful metal crook that was fitted to it. The opposite is the case with the Bachul of Moloc. All its ornaments have been stolen off it and the staff would also have probably disappeared only for the fact that its possessor, through it, holds certain property (*Arch. Jnl.*, 1859). Giraldus Cambrensis (1185) tells us how highly venerated were the staves of the old missionary fathers and many of the gilt and jewelled crosiers of mediæval times were really but the cases in which these venerable, perhaps

[1] *Vide* Smith's *Dict. G. & R. Antiqs.*

[2] Early sculptured representations of bishops with such short crosiers may be seen on St. Gobnet's Stone, Ballyvourney, Co. Cork (*Archæol. Jnl.*, 1855) and Bressay (Shetlands) Ogham Stone, *Reliq.*, 1884-5.

miracle-working, relics were enshrined. Westwood[1] says that the worn parts of these short staves show that they were carried crook up over the shoulder. But that they were sometimes carried like a walking stick is shown by the picture of St. Luke in the Gospels of MacDurnan, an early 9th century MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace. St. Matthew's picture in the same work tells us that the long crosier was also in use at the same time. It was this latter that developed into the beautiful carved, tabernacled and enamelled crosier of later date. It gradually replaced all others in the Western church, from the 11th century onwards, but apparently had not entirely superseded the straight *baculum* even in the 14th century, if we may judge from the slab, of that date, on the tomb of the founder, St. Yestin, in Llaniestin church, Anglesey.[2]

Among all these varied forms of episcopal crosier, *baculum*, or *cambutta*, there is nothing at all like the object P.3 carries in his hand. It is flat, with squared edges. It is just short of 7 ins. long. Its upper end is rounded. Half an inch from the very top it is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, and gradually broadens to the lower end, which is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. across. The lower border is nearly straight and squared. These dimensions mean that proportionately to life-size it would be a flat wedge-shaped object nearly a yard long, with a base 6 ins. across and gradually narrowing to between 3 or 4 ins. before it was rounded off at the top. Some of the photographs of this object show slight notching on each side, near the lower end. This made me think it might be an asperge, but careful examination convinces me that the notches are due to injury.

[1] *Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*

[2] Illustrated in *Arch. Cambrensis* (1847).

A club or mace has been suggested, as an object that widens from the handle to the other end, and a club is the symbol of two Apostles, St. Simon and St. James, and of at least eleven other saints, but a club would not be represented flat, with square edges and would not be carried in this manner.[1] Mr. Roberts has suggested that some of the figures, he does not say which, carry candles. I cannot agree. The characteristic part of a candle is its flame, and there is nothing to suggest it, and candles are always circular in section, not flat. They are frequently represented as gradually narrowing—tapering—to the burning end. A good example is seen in the 14th century representation of the Mass in plate 32, vol. I. of Mercuri and Bonnard's *Costumes Historiques*. The only thing I can think of that is the shape of the object under discussion is the opening of some Saxon or Early Norman windows, *e.g.*, those of Hardham Church, Sussex.

Finding no explanation in real life, I turned my thoughts to symbolism and sought for something as being symbolised of this shape. In representations of the Baptism of Christ, diverging lines are often shown passing from the beak of a dove towards the head of the Baptised and are intended to signify radiations of Divine influence passing from the Holy Spirit to the Saviour.[2] Such radiations are shown in other baptisms, as for example, the " Baptism of a Goth " in

[1] For a man carrying a club see Kirkburn font in Bond's *Fonts*, p. 161.

[2] Bond, in *Fonts and Font Covers*, gives several excellent illustrations, but considers these lines to represent streams of water (*vide* p. 14 *passim*). The incorrectness of such an explanation will at once be seen on applying it to examples other than baptisms. That the ancients had the idea of radiations is shown, for example, by the following: ". . . the mutual gaze of persons, and that which emanates from their eyes, whether we call it light or something else . . ." and " there is so great a penetration into the inward parts by a look . . ." —Plutarch's *Symposium*, Book v., prob. 7.

Munter's *Sinnbilder*, or the tombstone at Aquileia, in Bond.[1] They also occur in representations of the Annunciation[2] and in blessings generally. Moreover, the radiations do not always come from the Dove. They often proceed from the Divine hand (*Dextera Dei*) or from a cloud or crescent or other symbolic representation of heaven.[3]

The beautiful enamelled 14th century Sienese morse in the British Museum has on it a representation of the birth of John the Baptist. Here a single gradually diverging ray descends from Heaven on to the infant. The 6th century Italian ivory in the same museum, illustration of which forms plate iii. of the *Guide to Early Christian Antiquities*, shows excellent carved examples of wedge-shaped rays proceeding from a cloud.

But it was not only spiritual influences that were so represented. The symbolists indicated all emanations, radiations or influences in this way. As for instance, light from a star.[4] Sunbeams are figured in the same way. Indeed, there can be little doubt that from them, as seen when the sun is behind a cloud or his light comes through a chink into a dark room, the idea originated of representing beams of radiation by long, slightly widening wedges. Radiations were not always shown diverging from their source. They were frequently represented as converging to their recipient. This method is very ancient, and is found in hieroglyphics.[5] It was commonly

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

[2] Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewaender des Mittelalters*. Plate xiii.

[3] See Twining, *Symbols and Emblems*. Blessing of Isaiah from 10th century German MS. and Blessing of Charles the Bald from his 9th century illustrated Bible.

[4] Illustration from painted glass in Lyons Cathedral. Twining, *op. cit.*

[5] See Clodd, *History of Alphabet*, p. 170.

used in classical times as, for example, in the rays of the corona radiata.[1] It was the method usually adopted by the heralds and in decorative designs and fabrics to which it better lent itself.[2]

The Dove in the baptism of Christ on the font in Shorne church (Kent) has such rays, and they are usual in representations of the Holy Eucharist. In the heraldic badge of the " Rising Sun " they come from behind a cloud. In " the Sun-in-splendour " they are still more decoratively treated, each alternate ray being given the wavy outline of a flame. The heralds did not, however, always use this method. Occasionally they used the more naturalistic diverging beam, as, for example, in the Yorkist sun[3] and around the star of the garter and other orders.[4]

To summarise : The ancients and mediævals, the heralds, decorative artists and symbolists generally, though differing slightly in detail, all agree in representing rays of light or of spiritual influence by long narrow wedges. Such, then, was the single symbolic ray, and such is the shape of the object P.3 carries in his left hand.

There is a story of St. Chad, which, though it does not appear in any extant life of the saint, is said to have been very popular in the middle ages.[5] It made him the chief instrument in

[1] See coin of Ptolemy V., illustrated in *Arch. Jnl.*, 1897.

[2] For good reproductions of such fabrics, see Bock *op. cit.*

[3] Illustrated in Planché, *Cycl. of Costume.*

[4] Similar to, but immensely older than the examples I have cited is the obelisk, with its gradually diverging sides. Obelisks were dedicated to the sun-god—the fertiliser of the earth. Pliny tells us that each was a sun's-ray in stone—" *effigies radiorum solis.*" The pyramids are but very obtuse obelisks, and the word is said to mean " sun's ray " (*vide* Dodd's paper on the *Rudstone* in *Reliquary*, vol. 14).

[5] The story occurs in the life of SS Wulfad and Ruffin, which was printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1846 ed., vol. vi., pp. 226-30) and subsequently in the *Acta SS* .(July, vol. v., pp. 575-81). For the MSS. see Hardy, *Descrpt. Catal.* (Rolls Ser.), I., pp. 269-72.

Bpm. of Christ : 7th c. Catacombs.

Annunc'n. : Bock's Geschichte.

Bpm. of Christ : Bamberg Ivory.

Blessing of Isaiah : 10th c. Gr. MS. (Twining, S. & E.).

Star's Rays. Painted Glass. Lyons Cath. (Twining, S. & E.)

Birth John the B. Sienese Morse : 14th c. Brit. Mus.

Bpm. of Christ : Ivory. 6th c. Brit. Mus.

Ray of Sun, Stars, &c.

Ray of " Rising Sun " : Royal Badge.

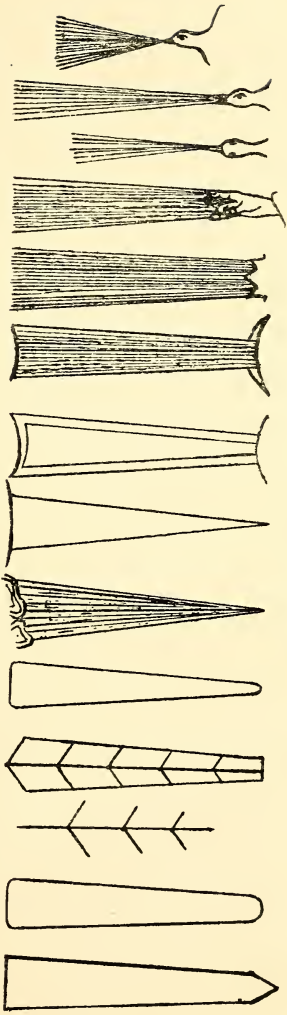
Ray of " Yorkist Sun " : Planché, Cyc. of Costume.

Ray of Garter Star, &c.

St. Chad's Emblem : Clog Almanacks.

Kirkby Font Emblem.

Obelisk.



VARIOUS FORMS OF THE RAY.

the conversion of Mercia. It is told with the usual abundance of picturesque and contradictory detail. The King of Mercia, Wulphere, who, by the way was father of St. Werburgh of Chester, had been christened in his youth, but had reverted to heathenism, and had murdered two of his sons, Wulfad and Ruffin,[1] on learning they had become Christians. But becoming dangerously ill, and fearing death, he was smitten with remorse, and repaired to Chad for consolation. When the king arrived Chad was saying mass in his little oratory, and as soon as the office was ended, he hurriedly removed his vestments to go and meet the king, and in his haste inadvertently hung them on a sunbeam that was crossing the room instead of hanging them in the proper place. The king, entering the small dark oratory, for in those days windows were small, as there was no glass to keep out the weather, saw the sun streaming through the little window and hanging on the bright beam were Chad's vestments. He could not believe his eyes, so drawing near he placed his gloves and baldrick on the sunbeam, but they fell straight through it to the ground. The king at once understood that Chad was a holy man, whom the sun obeyed, and whose beams were subservient to his commands. So the king was converted and all Mercia with him, and in the 12th century, at the time the font was made, the people of Kirkby would associate St. Chad and his sunbeam with the conversion of their district to Christianity.

Chad is one of those saints who are said to have no emblem ; but I suggest that he had, and that here on the Kirkby font is St. Chad carrying his sunbeam.

[1] Both afterwards canonised.

A beam of light is the symbol of several other saints. In the cases of the Venerable Bede and of St. Ewald it shines on them from heaven. St. Odo of Ghent is very similar. St. Posidonius's shines on him while praying in a dark cave. Our pagan ancestors materialised the rainbow—Bifrost, and made it a bridge from earth to heaven, guarded by Heimdall. The mediævals adopted the idea, but changed Heimdall into Christ, so that none could pass from earth to heaven except through Him. Thus we see it on the "Dooms," as at Wenhaston (Suffolk) and elsewhere.[1] In the same way the sunbeam was materialised in connection with St. Chad, who had used it as a clothes-peg. Baring-Gould and other modern writers tell us that St. Chad's emblem in the clog almanacks is "a branch."[2] I believe they all get this from that curious and interesting mass of *obiter dicta*, Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire* (Oxford, 1686). Plot gives a very full description of the Staffordshire clogs. These are staves carved as perpetual calendars with hieroglyphic-like signs for important events. In giving the meaning of the different signs, he says: "a bough against 2 of March for St. Ceadda, who lived a hermit's life in the woods near Lichfield." "The bough" is a straight line with other lines diverging from it on either side, always in opposite pairs like the mid-rib and opposite secondary ribs of a pennate leaf. What the origin of this sign is is not known, but it is significant that it consists so largely of divergent lines.

In relation to the two mitred figures the snake coil has two heads. The head beneath the giver of the benediction is looking upwards and

[1] Illustrated in Clinch, *Old English Churches*, Fig. 93.

[2] Bond calls St. Chad's emblem a "vine branch."

with open mouth biting furiously at him. While the head beneath the key-bearer is directed downwards, with closed mouth, in obvious defeat. Mr. Roberts expresses this as follows: "The snake heads are symbolical of the power given to the Church to contend with and overcome the Spirit of Evil." It may possibly refer also to the above-mentioned contention between the Celtic churches of the British Isles and the Church of Rome and the victory of the latter as symbolised by St. Peter.

Figure P.5, one of the tallest of the series, 16½ ins., gives us another of the many puzzles of the font. It is a good deal worn and the stone has several faults—soft patches which have yielded holes. He is bare-headed, and, I think, tonsured and bearded. He has on a chasuble, and one other vestment is visible beneath it. The point of the front lamina of the chasuble falls well short of the edge of the alb. He carries in his right hand a staff, which is very similar to the one carried by P.2, only there is no sign of ferrule near the lower end. The end of the thumb shows as a lump just above his fingers which grasp the staff, and opposite it on the outer side of the staff is something that may be the hook of a palmer's staff. Some have considered this and what I think is his thumb to be the cross guard of a sword.

In front of his body is a rectangular oblong object, suspended from his shoulders by two straps, and under this his left hand rests flat on his breast, palm down. The two straps may be intended to be continuous with one another behind his neck and so form a single handle or suspender. On the right side the strap is attached to the extreme right of the upper margin, but on the left it appears to be split into three pieces,

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which are attached to the corner and upper part of the left lateral edge. The front surface of the quadrilateral has clearly an upper and a lower part, separated by a depression, the upper part overhanging. When viewed from the left side this object gives an appearance very strongly suggestive o a chalice in a bag, but careful examination has convinced me that the appearance is fictitious and due to the large hole in the stone. Mr. Roberts evidently thought the quadrilateral was a satchel for the sacred vessels or something of the sort as he vaguely speaks of the subdeacon with the sacred vessels, and of course one of the duties of that official is to carry them in the offertory veil. Mr. Roberts may have thought this an early representation of that vestment. But if such were the case he would hardly have a stick in one hand and the other hand flat on his breast; he would be holding the vessels wrapped in the veil. He is not holding it. It hangs from his neck, and his hands are free.[1] I do not deny the possibility of this being some sort of case for chalice and paten, for Bede, speaking of missionary times, says: ". . Oratories . . . could not be made in the early infancy of the Church." And in the life of St. Willibald (c. 700) we are told that in the 7th century it was customary to erect crosses at which the services of the Church were held. So the itinerant clergy must have carried the sacred vessels with them, which almost necessitates a bag of some kind. Cuir bouilli cases of much later date for sacramental plate may be seen in the British Museum and elsewhere.[2] If his staff is a palmer's bourdon

[1] The suggestion that it is a burse may, I think, be similarly dismissed. Large rationals were sometimes worn, but would not be suspended from the neck.

[2] *e.g.*, from Little Weltham Church (Suffolk), illustrated in British Museum *Guide to Mediæval Room*, fig. 28.

the oblong object would be his scrip, and such it may be, for it was often suspended from the shoulders and carried either in front, behind, or at the side.[1] Another suggestion is that it is a breast-plate. And he may be intended for a Jewish high priest representing " the old order." If such were the intention, the dress would obviously be unsuitable, but suitability of vestment did not always trouble the mediæval artist, as it has not troubled many since. But breast-plates were sometimes worn by Christian priests, for in Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum* there is a drawing of a breast-plate found on a skeleton in a stone coffin in the Church of the Passion, Moscow. It was of leather, and hung by a thong round the neck, and was also fastened round the waist by a girdle. The breast-plate and girdle both had affixed to them numerous metal plates, arranged in bands, and having on them Greek texts and icons, the crucifixion appearing twice.

Many years ago in Dublin I saw some interesting relics of early Irish art, and learnt that the early missionary bishops were believed always to have carried about with them a bell, a book, and a reliquary, as well as their staff. For these things beautiful cases were made, a few of which are preserved. Among these is the Menistir or travelling reliquary of St. Moedoc of Ferns, in its cuir bouilli case. It is called the Breac Moedog (pr. Brack Mogue). They are described and illustrated in *Archæologia*, vol. 43.[2] These reliquaries were usually house-shaped with vertical walls and

[1] For an excellent contemporary picture of a pilgrim with a branch of holy palm tied to his staff and scrip suspended from his shoulders, see illustration in Clinch's *Old English Churches* of a mural painting in Faversham Church.

[2] They, however, must be renewals, as they cannot be anything like as old as the 6th century.

pointed roofs, like oratories. There is a late (Limoges, enamelled) metal example in the Mayer Collection, Liverpool Museum. The shrine of St. Boniface in Brixworth Church is similarly shaped in stone. And other examples will come to mind, as, for instance, the one on the Bayeux Tapestry on which Harold takes the oath to William.

That reliquaries were carried about is shown by a passage in Bede. He tells us that the Gaulish Bishops, Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes[1], came to Britain[2] to refute the Pelagian heresy, and after meeting and confounding Pelagius himself, Germanus performed a miracle in making a blind girl see. He says : " Germanus full of the Holy Ghost, invoking the Trinity, took into his hands a casket, containing the relics of the saints, which hung about his neck, and applied it, in the sight of all, to the girl's eyes, which were immediately delivered from the darkness . . . " The portable reliquary of St. Moedoc is $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high, and contained relics brought from Rome by St. Molaise of Devenish and presented to St. Moedoc. The case of beautifully figured cuir bouilli[3] has a strap handle forming a loop and attached to each side.

My suggestion is that P.5 has, suspended by its strap handle from his neck, a satchel containing a house-shaped travelling reliquary ; that the upper part corresponds to the roof, with overhanging eaves, and the lower part is vertical, covering the upright walls. The measurements confirm this view. The ratio of width to height is as 10 : 8 and of the Breac Moedog is as $8\frac{7}{8} : 7\frac{1}{4}$

[1] Both afterwards canonised. Germanus is Saint Germain l'Auxerrois of Paris, St. German of Peel, and St. Garmon of Capel Garmon and Llanarmon.

[2] A.D. 429.

[3] Chaucer's " coorbuly."

(10 : 8=8⅞ : 7⅛). I tried also comparisons with the dimensions of the figure, but they could not be made, as the proportions are all wrong. His head, for instance, is 25 per cent. of his height, instead of 15 per cent., as in nature. The width of his chest is nearly twice what it should be for his height. As I have said, mediæval artists did not trouble about exact proportions. They made large the parts to which they wished to draw attention, and here they have somewhat emphasised the reliquary. The large hole in the side of the reliquary I have attributed to a fault in the stone, made larger probably by the school children. It is very tempting, though, to suggest that the hole was first made by the sculptor in imitation of St. Chad's original shrine as described by Bede: "The place of the sepulchre is . . . made like a little house . . . . having a hole[1] in the wall, through which those that go thither for devotion usually put their hand and take out some dust, which they put into water and give to sick cattle or men to drink, upon which they are presently eased of their infirmity and restored to health."

P.6 is bearded and, I think, tonsured, but a large part of the top of his head has gone, either broken off when the lock staples were wrenched out or split off by natural processes. He has a short chasuble, very like the little P.1 figure, but he is as tall as P.5, *i.e.*, 16½ ins. Only one vestment is visible worn beneath his chasuble, but there is a suspicion of something pointed hanging over his left leg. It might indicate the hanging pocket we are told Anglo-Saxon and early Norman priests wore. It was later restricted to bishops as the subcingulum, and is

[1] Such holes in shrine walls may still be seen at St. Davids (Pembrokeshire).

× Whenever one sees in Christian representation a figure with a child on its lap, the first thing one thinks of is the Virgin & Child, and this was the first interpretation that occurred to me of this figure. But its extreme uncouth-ness, the suggestion of a beard & the wearing of a chasuble made me reject this interpretation. Subsequent discussion with others & especially with the Rev. Mr. Timbrell of Coddington has however very largely convinced me that this, rough as it is, is a representa-tion of the Blessed Virgin & infant Saviour.
The beard is of course not certain & the Virgin & other women saints, are occasionally shown wearing a chasuble-like garment. See for example the Flatford Virgin & the Cadillac Virgin illustrated in the same volume at pp 152 & 153 and the picture of St. Faith in Westminster Abbey, illustra-ted in the Catalogue of the British Primitives exhibition.
⊙. If seated the greater breadth to the height is largely explained.

now, I understand, only worn by the Pope on certain solemn occasions. P.6 has his fingers interlocked, and he presses a book against his breast. The fingers are not placed alternately, as is usual, but the middle and ring fingers of the left hand appear between the index and little fingers of the right.

The next to him is P.7. I think he also is bearded and tonsured, but his face is much worn. He has a chasuble over his alb and the point of the former nearly touches the lower edge of the latter. A line of fissure in the stone runs obliquely from the arch near the right side of his head down through his right shoulder to his left knee. He is 16 ins. high. His left arm is bent at the elbow and the hand is brought to his side in front, with the palm turned up, the fingers bent sharply upwards, and the thumb widely separated from them. On the hand rests an oval lump, and on the top of it the right hand lies, palm downwards, with the tips of the fingers only slightly bent. The left end of the oval lump which he carries is rounded and divided off from the rest by a constriction. The right end is irregular and terminates in two small oval pieces, while in front of the middle a V-shaped piece, pointing to the right, is to be distinguished, and the priest's right hand seems to catch hold of its upper end. A tracing of the parts gives the outline seen in the diagram, and I have not the least doubt that what P.7 holds in his hands is an infant.✕ Mr. Roberts takes the " lump " to be the priest's left hand crossed over his right, and what are clearly fingers of the left hand he takes to be the right hand, and so speaks of " folded arms."

Attention may be called to the excessive breadth of this figure in proportion to its height. Indeed, all the figures are disproportionately

broad, but P.7 most of all. It is most likely due to bad spacing, which left the niche too wide, and it had to be filled. Still we must remember, when considering breadth, that in those days there were no fireplaces and no warming of buildings and it is on record that sometimes enormous quantities of clothes were worn. It was said that in life Becket looked stout, but when undressed[1] for burial he was found to be very emaciated.

We have now completed the circuit of the font and have come back to Adam and Eve. If we count the serpent round the tree as one, the font has twelve figures. I divide these into two groups of six. One group, now east, but I should think originally south, facing the south door, has in the centre the Fall and Expulsion from Eden, represented by four figures—Eve, the Serpent, Adam, and the Angel. This group is flanked by a figure on the one side representing the promise of redemption and defeat of Satan, and on the other the way to redemption, through baptism.

While Christianity was gradually replacing paganism, adult baptism was much more usual than that of infants. Children were mostly allowed to grow old enough to answer for themselves. In those early times, too, baptism was performed by the bishop ; and except in times of great conversions baptisms were normally done only at fixed times—on Easter Eve and Whitsun Eve. Baptism by parish priests (or their equivalent) in parish churches was legalised only in the middle of the 8th century. Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury in the year 747 ordered all priests to baptise. But churches and priests were

[1] He had on eight garments, one over the other : *vide* Spence's *History of the Church of England*, ii., 204.

still few and far between, and it was not till the time of Bishop Æthelwald (818-828) that the itinerant clergy, working the diocese from the cathedral of the see, were abolished in Mercia and local arrangements made for the cure of souls. Charlemagne (768) ordered fonts to be set up in all churches having the cure of souls, and all children to be baptised before they were a year old. The English King Edgar, in 960, decreed that baptism must not be delayed beyond 37 days from birth. From the 11th century onwards children were expected to be baptised within a few days of their birth. But it often meant a serious journey. The parish church might be a long way off. The Kirkby baby would have to be carried 6 to 12 miles or more, first by difficult paths through bog and moss. then over the low swampland of the River Alt, often flooded and impassable for weeks together, Next came the bleak and exposed Longmoor, then more clay and mud beside the Tue brook, till finally they climbed the steep hill to Walton. And the ceremony over, all the steps had to be retraced. One can quite understand that parents often did not get their children baptised quite as soon as the priest thought they ought. To relieve the people from this trouble, and even danger, the Kirkby font was made, and one half of the bowl was carved with sculpture setting forth the doctrine of infant baptism, the possibility of which it now brought almost to their doors.

It may be argued that baptism cannot be intended as the priest wears a chasuble. Indeed, in all the representations of baptism I can recall the priest is vested in alb or surplice and stole only, but they are all late examples, and I have

already pointed out that the restricted use of the chasuble was comparatively late.

If we accept this interpretation of this half, the other half becomes, at any rate, symmetrical, consisting of six figures, as follows :—At each wing is a tonsured priest with short chasuble and book in hand (P.1 and P.6). Next to these, on either side, is a figure carrying a long staff, while in the centre stand the two mitred saints with their emblems and the serpents' heads beneath their feet.

The imagery on the walls, windows, screens and elsewhere in the churches were the lantern slides and picture palaces, and more, the very books of the middle ages. By them the doctrines of the Church and the lives of the saints and moral homilies were taught. The people could not read books, but they read into all these symbols what they had been taught from infancy. Winchester font illustrates symbolically the Eucharist and scenes from the life of St. Nicholas of Myra. The Brighton font tells of baptism and the Last Supper, with scenes from the life of the patron saint of the church. The Curdworth font, too, has incidents connected with the dedication. Kirkby font illustrates a subject of Christian doctrine—the reason for and necessity of infant baptism, and, if I am right, the other side is connected with the life of the saint whose name was given to the chapel in which it was placed —St. Chad, the patron also of the diocese in which Kirkby was until 1541. St. Chad, or more correctly Ceadda, was a very popular saint, especially in Mercia. To him its conversion to Christianity was attributed. His life of simple piety and humility seems to have appealed to all. Over 30 churches are dedicated to him, chiefly

in Mercia.[1] The cathedral of the then great Mercian diocese, at Lichfield, contained his shrine, and was dedicated to him, and what is more " the glorious Prince of the Apostles," Peter, had been replaced in the dedication by the simple, meek and lowly Chad, who, when removed from being bishop of York by that masterful Greek, Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, simply replied that he gladly relinquished it, as he had never felt himself worthy of so high an office, and had only accepted it from obedience. Another evidence of the respect in which Chad was held is that his cross is the chief charge on the arms of the see.

Travellers on the London and North-Western Railway all know that a view of the cathedral of Lichfield, with its three spires, a mile away to the west, is obtained both before and after passing through the cutting in which the Trent Valley station lies. But perhaps some are not aware that just half-way between them and the cathedral is the square tower with corner turret of Stowe church, and beside it in a garden is St. Chad's Well, the water of which flows into one of the pools which add so much to the picturesqueness of the cathedral and its surroundings. St. Chad's Pool (or Stowe Pool), in which, before there was any church or font, he was wont to baptise, has now been enlarged into a reservoir, and the sacred water that used to work miracles is now, I am told, conveyed in pipes to Burton-on-Trent for beer-making.

By the church was Chad's cell, where he hung his clothes on the sunbeam. There he meditated and prayed, there the angels visited him,

[1] When Offa conquered Powys (Shropshire) and took its capital, Pengwern (now Shrewsbury), he gave the site of the palace of the Princes of Powys for a new church to be built in honour of St. Chad.

and the plague seized him, and he died in 672, and beside it he was buried. Bede says: "Chad died on March 2nd, and was first buried by St. Mary's church, but afterwards when the church of the most holy Prince of the Apostles, Peter, was built, his bones were translated to it." This St. Peter's church is supposed to have been the first on the site of the present cathedral, and to have been built by Bishop Headda (691-720), but really nothing is known of it. History is quite a blank for hundreds of years. We do know from recent excavations that whatever it was, it was succeeded by a Norman church, around the foundations of which the present Early English and Decorated cathedral is built. Who built the Norman church is not known, but there is a tradition, or little more, that it was Roger de Clinton (bishop 1129-1148) who " ' built it new ' in honour of St. Mary and St. Chad." So, as I have already said, St. Chad replaced St. Peter as patron saint of the diocese in the 12th century, apparently a few years before the Kirkby font was made. It may be that among other things the sculpture was intended to record this fact, showing as it does St. Peter standing aside (may I say, approvingly ?) while St. Chad gives the blessing. Another possibility has been suggested. It might have reference to the fact that Chad was twice a bishop, once of St. Peter's see of York, and secondly of Lichfield.

I think, however, it is more likely that it refers to the great controversy of Chad's time—the struggle for uniformity in the Christian Church —the throwing over of the rule of St. Columba and the acknowledgment of St. Peter as prince of the Apostles, as Wilfrid put it, or as King Oswy said in a cruder, personal and more interested

way, when as chairman at Whitby he summed up the proceedings of the council: ". . . he is the door-keeper, whom I will not contradict, but will as far as I know and am able, in all ways obey his decrees, lest, when I come to the gates of the Kingdom of Heaven, there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys."

When our font was in the making the great struggle between Henry II. and Becket had not long resulted in the archbishop's murder. Possibly the mason's hand was actually applying his tool to the font while Henry Plantagenet was kneeling in penance at Becket's tomb (1173). When looking at these figures, I fancy I hear the priest discoursing to his flock on the life and example of St. Chad; of what he had done for them in his life and how willing he was always to submit to the authority of mother Church as typified by St. Peter. The figures on either side may have been used to illustrate his missionary tours and monastic life, as attendants with book and reliquary and the staff to indicate they were travellers. At each wing is a shorn priest, shorn as all have been since Bishop Colman and the discomfited Scots retired from the field as what Bede calls a despised sect. These suggestions as to the interpretation I make with much diffidence. They rest on evidence of varied value Some, I hope, will be considered strong; some is slight. I trust, however, that the paper may call attention to this valuable and interesting relic, and that others better versed in mediæval archæology will be induced to study it and help to solve its many problems and interpret its meaning.

CARVINGS OF MEDIÆVAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

By Rev. H. A. Hudson, M.A., F.S.A.

Read 10th March, 1921.

CONSPICUOUS among the many interesting features of the nave roof of Manchester Cathedral is the noteworthy assemblage of minstrel angels forming the ornamental supporters of the wall-posts beneath the beams. These carvings, both on account of their number and by reason of their artistic merit, are of such importance that we might even go so far as to say that were the cathedral devoid of any other excellences of mediæval woodcraft this feature alone would suffice to give it distinction in this particular department of sculpture. An integral part of a roof which in general design and ornamental detail is no whit inferior to the best work of the northern craftsmen of the late fifteenth century, these musical angels are valuable also for other reasons. In the first place the series is one of the most complete of its kind in existence, and may be said to mark an epoch. In point of numbers also, and in the variety of the instruments represented, it exceeds most others that have come down to us; and, by no means least

important, the condition of the carvings (with the exception of the angels' wings, which have been renewed) may be regarded as being practically intact.

It should be observed in passing that a special value attaches to such sculptures in general, on account of the light which they throw upon the actual forms of early instruments, many of which are now obsolete, as well as upon the mode in which they were played. From the nature of the case this light is fuller and often more reliable than that derived from other sources of information, among which may be mentioned the representations found in stained glass, illuminated manuscripts and monumental brasses.

The carvings under review are fourteen in number, each portraying a half-length figure of an angel clad in alb and amice and engaged in playing a musical instrument. The figures average 2 ft. 10 in. in length, the total measurement, including wings and instruments, ranging from 4 ft. to 5 ft. 1 in. The conventional clouds from which the demi-angel usually issues in such situations are absent, the figures being set directly upon the capitals of the bay shafts with an outward tilt of 55 degrees. All the instruments are different, no two being exactly alike, although in one case, namely the bagpipe, two varieties of the same instrument are shown.

It need scarcely be pointed out that musical instruments of all ages, whether ancient or modern, are essentially of three kinds only, namely : those of percussion, those for wind, and those for strings. All three categories are represented here as may be seen from the following table, which gives the Manchester instruments as they now appear :

North Side (from West to East).	South Side (from East to West).
1. Tabor, or Drum.	8. Portative Organ.
2. Recorder.	9. Harp.
3. Irish Bagpipe.	10. Psaltery.
4. Scottish Bagpipe.	11. Dulcimer.
5. Shawm, or Oboe.	12. Lute.
6. Trumpet, or Clarion.	13. Fithele.
7. Clavicymbal.	14. Symphony, or Hurdy-gurdy.

In describing the instruments it will be convenient to take them in the above order, which, however, differs slightly from the order given in plate xxii. of Mr. Crowther's *Architectural History* of the Cathedral, where numbers 2 and 5 are transposed. It differs also in another respect from the order in which they stood prior to the last restoration of the roof. As now arranged, the clavicymbal is the only stringed-instrument on the north side, and the portative organ the only wind-instrument on the south. An early photograph of the nave, dating from about 1870 or earlier, in the writer's possession, shows that these also have been transposed. It may thus be inferred that originally the series on the south side consisted entirely of stringed-instruments, the wind series being all together on the north side.

It is a matter of regret that we are unable to give photographic illustrations of all these subjects, and it is therefore well to make two observations of a general nature by way of preface to the detailed description that follows. In the first place, with regard to the players: there is a good deal more variety of expression and grace of form, pose, and dress in the carving of the angels themselves than is apparent in the outline drawings which we are enabled to reproduce. This we can vouch for from personal

examination at close quarters in one instance, whilst confirmatory testimony is provided by one or two photographs which have been secured. Excellent as these drawings are so far as they go, they necessarily fall short in certain matters of detail which, were it possible to employ it in each case, a camera might elucidate. Unfortunately the great height of the subjects, and their peculiar situation, as well as the bad lighting, especially of those on the south side, seem to preclude the taking of successful photographs.

Then, secondly, as regards the instruments: it should be remembered, as the late Dr. Henry Watson once pointed out,[1] that the sculptor's limitations in carving musical instruments in relief, with the performers engaged in playing them, are very severe, especially considering the particular purpose and position for which they were destined here, as in many other places; and this being the case, neither the shape and proportions of some of the instruments, nor the

[1] The observation was made in a discourse on these instruments at a meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, on March 11th, 1910.

It was Dr. Watson's expressed intention on this occasion to amplify his remarks in a future address, and afterwards to commit them to writing with a view to publication. Among local musicians few were better qualified to deal with the subject than Dr. Watson, and his lamented death at the beginning of 1911 deprived both the members and the public of a contribution to musical archæology which would have been greatly prized. Through the kindness of a friend, we have had an opportunity of examining Dr. Watson's notes, and it is mainly with their help and that of the splendid collections comprised in the "Henry Watson Library" belonging to the city, and the "Henry Watson Collection of Musical Instruments" belonging to the Royal Manchester College of Music, that we have been enabled to offer the description of the instruments which is here presented.

The general subject may be pursued in the delightful and informing volume on *Old English Instruments of Music* by the Rev. F. W. Galpin, F.S.A., to which we have freely made reference; and for the carved treatment the excellent publications on the sculptures at Exeter Cathedral by Miss E. K. Prideaux may be consulted profitably.

method in which they were held and played, are strictly to be determined by such representations alone as are supplied by series of carvings like that under consideration.

1.—Tabor.

Our first instrument is a Tabor, which was a little drum slung by a short string from the waist, shoulder, or left arm, and tapped with a small stick or pair of sticks. The tabor is the sole representative here of the instruments of percussion, which in early times formed a numerous class, and included the cymbals, *crotula* or castanets, *triangulum*, *sistrum*, *tintinnabula*, and others.

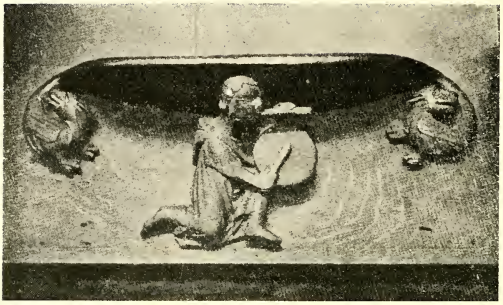
The members of the old drum family may be grouped under three headings: first, the Timbrel, or tambourine; secondly, the Nakers, or kettle-drums; and thirdly the Tabor, or drum proper.

The timbrel is of very ancient lineage and was used in processions and on occasions of solemn rejoicing, the performers frequently being females. Thus, after the Egyptian overthrow, Miriam "took a timbrel in her hand and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances."[1] So Jephthah's daughter went forth to meet her father "with timbrels and with dances."[2] In his poem *David and Goliath* the victor's return is thus described by Drayton:

> "Field, town and city with his fame do ring,
> The tender Virgins on their timbrels sing
> Ditties of him."[3]

[1] Ex., xv., 20. [2] Judg., xi., 34.

[3] Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, p. 241.



1. Pipe and Tabor on a misericord at Exeter Cathedral (XIII. Cent.).

2. Nakers and Clarion on a misericord at Worcester Cathedral (XIV. Cent.).

And it may be remembered that the religious procession in Edwin Long's picture, "The Flight into Egypt" is headed by a band of female musicians, several of whom play timbrels. A good example of the mediæval timbrel, having a double row of jingles, appears in the Minstrel Gallery at Exeter.

The nakers, often found in mediæval carvings (Pl. I.2) and illuminations, derive their name and use, like many other instruments, from the Arabs. From this source, perhaps by way of Spain, whence also we adopted the Moorish or Morris-dance, they came to England; or it may be that their actual introduction here was due to the Crusaders. Engel remarks that "names of musical instruments derived from the Moors in Spain occur in almost every European language."[1] The nakers are to be regarded as the progenitors of the modern *timpani*, or kettle-drums.

Of the tabor, or drum proper, there were both large and small kinds; the smaller, to which our example belongs, being called the tabourell in Queen Elizabeth's time. As a solo instrument it is properly played with two drum-sticks; and although the specimen represented here appears to be quite plain, it should be pointed out that a vibrating cord of catgut, called a "snare," was commonly stretched across the parchment of all the drum family: also, that the side-cords or "braces" used for tightening the skins of the double-headed drum were known both to the Egyptians and the Romans.

The tabor-player was often provided with a pipe which he held in his left hand and blew like a whistle, whilst he thumped his tabor with the drum-stick in his right hand (Pl. I.1). The pipe had only three holes, but by means of harmonics

[1] *Musical Instruments*, p. 56.

a scale of nearly two octaves was possible. So for the dance the whistle-pipe gave the melody while the tabor marked the rhythm.

The drum and fife band is the lineal descendant of the mediæval pipe and tabor, which thus become the ancestors of the modern military band.

2.—Recorder.

A varied succession of pipers accompanies our taborist here; indeed, with one exception, all the rest of the instruments on the north side belong to the wind series.

The Recorder now to be considered is a member of the Flute family, and although now obsolete it was once held in great esteem. A species of flageolet, it is thus described by Bacon: "The figures of recorders, flutes, and pipes are straight; but the recorder hath a less bore, and a greater above and below."[1] We find it mentioned by Shakespeare, Pepys, and Milton, the references in *Hamlet* being well-known; to play it, according to the Danish prince, was

"As easy as lying: govern these ventages with your fingers and thumb, give it breath with your mouth, and it will discourse most eloquent music." (Act iii., Sc. 2.)

Owing to its popularity in England the French called the recorder, or beaked-flute (flûte à bec), "la flute d'Angleterre." The thumb-hole at the back, referred to in the above passage, was one of its distinguishing marks. It had commonly seven finger-holes and was played, as represented

[1] See Engel, p. 125.

PLATE II.

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL
Angel playing a Recorder (late XV. Cent.).

here, like a clarinet, and not transversely as the German flute which has taken its place.

Like the viols, the recorders were made in sets, and a unique English set of four, belonging to the Chester Archæological Society, was exhibited and described by Dr. J. C. Bridge at the Society of Antiquaries in 1912.[1] On this occasion Dr. Bridge quoted a highly interesting incident narrated in the "Metrical records of the House of Stanley," which should appeal specially to the patriotic and musical instincts of Lancastrians. It describes the entertainment of the king and queen of Castile, who, seeking shelter from a storm on their way home from the Netherlands, landed at Falmouth and were invited to Court by Henry VII.

"When the King of Castell was driven hether
By force and violence of wyndie wether,
He brought with him that were thought good musitions,
There was none better in their opinions;
The King of Castell saide their actes were so able;
They were gentlemen of howses notable.
'I have,' quothe Henerie the Seventh, 'a Knyght my servant,
One of the greatest earles sonnes in all my land,
He playeth on all instruments none comes amisse
Called Sir Edward Stanley; Lo! there he is . . .'
This second sonne Edward (Stanley) was married to an heire
Of a thousand markes a yeare, of good land and faire.
His playing on instruments was a good noyse,[2]
His singing as excellent with a sweete voice.
His countenance comelie, with visage demure,
Not moving, ne streininge, but stedfast and sure.
He would showe in a single recorder pype
As many partes as any in a bagpype.

[1] See *Proceedings*, xxiv., 117.

[2] "Noise," an old musical expression indicating the effect produced by several instruments playing together. The Biblical use of the word is familiar: *e.g.*, "the noise of thy viols" (Ps. xiv., 11); "When He saw the minstrels and the people making a noise" (Matt., ix., 23).

He showed much conning those two Kings before
That the others had no luste to play any more.
He played on all instruments notable well:
But of all things mused the King of Castell
To heare two partes in a single recorder,
That was beyond their estimations far!"

"It is evident," says Dr. Bridge, commenting upon this remarkable episode, "that Sir Edward Stanley was able to imitate the chanter and drone of a bagpipe, but I cannot explain how he did it." We suspect, however, that, like many another entertainer, he had "something up his sleeve." Possibly his instrument was a cunningly contrived *double* recorder (Pl. III.1).

3.—Bagpipe (Irish).

The bagpipe, according to William Lynd,[1] is one of the most ancient instruments in the world. Hipkins describes it as the organ reduced to its most simple expression. A syrinx, or panpipe, with bag or bellows, is represented on an ancient terra-cotta excavated at Tarsus and believed to be two thousand years old. The instrument was known to the Romans as the *tibia utricularis*, and a bronze figure of a bagpiper was found during the excavations at Richborough.[2] The Emperor Nero, whose musical proclivities are generally associated with the fiddle, is said to have regarded the bagpipe with special favour.

There were various kinds of bagpipe. Shakespeare puts an allusion to the "drone of a

[1] *Ancient Musical Instruments*, p. 28.
[2] Galpin, p. 174.

Lincolnshire bagpipe "[1] into the mouth of Falstaff. Lancashire and Northumbrian pipes are also met with. The two main classes, however, are those known to us as the Irish and Scotch, the essential difference between these two varieties being that in the old Irish form the wind is supplied by a small bellows under the arm of the player, whence the instrument is known in Erse as *uilleann*, or the elbow-pipes ; whereas in the Scottish the performer fills his wind-bag by blowing through a short pipe held in the mouth.[2]

It will be noticed that the example before us has neither mouthpiece nor drone, but simply the windbag and " chanter " pipe. Hence we assume that it belongs to the Irish class. It may be added that an illustration of a bagpipe with bellows attached to the windbag occurs in the *Syntagma Musicum* by Michael Prætorius (1619).[3]

4.—Bagpipe (Scottish).

The differences between this and the preceding example are evident. Here the windbag is held under the right arm, and its blow-pipe fixed in the player's mouth ; also in addition to the " chanter," a single drone-pipe appears.

Often in later instruments three or more drones are found, and Lynd describes a Northumbrian bagpipe with as many as four drones made of ivory.

[1] *Henry IV.*, pt. I, act 1, sc. 2.

[2] See *The Carvings of Musical Instruments in Exeter Cathedral Church*, by Edith K. Prideaux, p. 14.

[3] Ill. in *The History of Music*, by Emil Naumann, ed. Ousceley, i., 263.

There exists a curious carving of a bagpiper on one of the brackets adorning the Eleanor Percy tomb at Beverley minster, where the windbag of the instrument consists of a small entire pig-skin, with fore-legs and feet intact, the blowpipe being inserted in the pig's mouth (Pl. III. 2). That this is no mere fancy of the artist may be inferred from a parallel custom related by Engel, who remarks that in Poland and the Ukraine the bagpipe used to be made of the whole skin of the goat, so that whenever the windbag was distended the shape of the animal was fully retained exhibiting even the head with the horns; hence they called the bagpipe *rosa*, signifying a goat.[1]

Bagpipes, although regarded as special favourites of the Celtic races, were popular with all classes, being associated with folk and dance music and also freely found in ecclesiastical sculptures. There is evidence, moreover, of their employment in the homes of royalty, and it is on record that Henry VIII., who was no mean musician, had four bagpipes in his collection "with pipes of ivorie."[2]

5.—Shawm.

The instrument depicted here is the Shawm, or Schalmey, a name which was derived through the Fr. *chalumeau* from "calamus," a reed. It is perhaps the oldest of all instruments, and therefore the parent of all the reed instruments of the modern orchestra. Schalmey is a term still applied to the lower

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

[2] See Galpin, p. 175.

1. Double Recorder (or Shawm) on a boss of the reredos at Beverley Minster (XIV. Cent.).

2. Bagpiper from the Percy tomb at Beverley Minster (XIV. Cent.).

register of the clarinet.[1] The shawm appears to have been introduced into the West by the Romans.

Directly descended from the schalmey is the hautbois, or waight, so-called from being used by the London watchmen, or "waights,"[2] to proclaim the time of the night. After a toot or short solo on his instrument the watchman would cry the hour in quaint fashion, such as: "Past three o'clock and a cold frosty morning; past three o'clock: good morrow, masters all." The name "howeboie," derived from the Fr. *haut-bois*, dates from Queen Elizabeth's time, and probably indicates the shrill tone of the treble shawm.[3]

The modern oboe family, including the bassoon and fagotto, is thus the offspring of the shawm, its essential characteristic being the double reed; that is, two thin slips of cane which vibrate against each other. In the single reed family, to which the clarinet belongs, a single reed vibrates against the natural tube or the mouthpiece. Bagpipes, it has been pointed out, frequently exhibit both; the chanter-pipe having a double

[1] Naumann, i., 261, *n*.

[2] We first hear of the Manchester "waights," who were the town minstrels rather than watchmen, in the Court Leet records of 1563. They were at first two in number, but were later increased to four. Among their specified duties were "playing mornying and euening to gether according as others haue bene accustomed to doe"; they played also at other times, as for example on civic occasions and at weddings. They were appointed, though apparently not paid, by the court, and had the assistance of the constables of the town in "gathering" their wages. Very likely they would wear, as was customary elsewhere, a badge of office. A fine set of four such badges, with silver collars, dating from the time of Queen Mary, is preserved at Bristol. (See Society of Antiquaries *Proceedings*, xiii., 262.)

A quaint survival of a similar official personage is the horn-blower of the "Wakeman," now Mayor, of Ripon, who still blows his horn on the Town Hall steps at nightfall, the citizens being thereby reminded that "Except the Lord keep the city the wakeman (*i.e.*, watchman) waketh but in vain."—Ps. cxxvii. 2.

[3] Galpin, p. 165.

reed and the drones a single.[1] Along with the bagpipes the shawm was the intimate companion of the wandering minstrels of Central Europe.

6.—Trumpet, or Clarion.

"With trumpets also and shawms" is a familiar invitation to praise. The conjunction of the instruments here is therefore appropriate. But trumpets, with their big and little brothers, the Buzine (Lat. *buccina*) and the Clarion, had other functions; sometimes it was the pageantry of courts that called them; at others, as at Crécy and Agincourt, they are found in martial array among the

> "Pypes, trompes, nakers, and clariounes,
> That in the bataille blowen blody sounes."[2]

The earlier mediæval "trompes" had a long straight cylindrical tube which varied in length from three or four feet to six or seven feet, and terminated in a spreading bell. Gradually and for the sake of convenience the long straight form gave way to the bent tube, sometimes shaped in zigzag fashion (Pl. I.2), but afterwards, as in the case before us, with a double bend folded over upon itself, which gives a better construction. Thus Horman, an early sixteenth century writer, tells us that "a Trompette is straight, but a Clarion is wounde in and out with a hope."[3]

[1] Lynd, p. 22.
[2] Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale*, l. 1653 (ed. Skeat).
[3] Galpin, p. 203.

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Angel playing a Clavicymbal (late XV. Cent.).

Both the clarion and the buzine, as the shorter and longer forms of the mediæval trumpet were denominated, have disappeared, the former giving place to the clarinet, whose high notes made an effective substitute for those of the clarion ; and the latter to the sackbut, a slide instrument which, judging from the Bible and Book of Common Prayer, had become well-known in the seventeenth century, and is found in the modern orchestra under the name of trombone.

7.—Clavicymbal.

Our next two instruments are of exceptional interest as introducing us to the forerunners of the keyed instruments which issued in the pianoforte and organ of modern days. Although the Clavicymbal here represented resembles in shape the grand-piano, its fellow the clavichord, a unique example of which is figured in the fine roof sculpture of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, is actually the real ancestor of the piano.

The essential difference between these two keyed string instruments of mediæval times subsists in the mode of operating the strings. Both were derived from earlier forms, and may be regarded as the application of the mechanical principle to pre-existing instruments played by hand, such as the psaltery and citole, which were played with a plectrum or plucked by the fingers ; and the dulcimer, whose wire strings were struck by hammers. The clavicymbal embodied the former of these two principles.

The earlier keyed-psaltery from which it was derived was introduced by the Italians about 1400, and was called the *clavicytherium*, or keyed-harp. The English clavicymbal (Ital. *clavicembalo*) developing the same principle of plucking the strings mechanically, became in turn the virginal, harpischord, and spinet;[1] the strings in each case being twanged by means of small portions of crowquill, whalebone, or leather attached to slips of wood called "jacks," which were provided with springs and connected with the keys.

Early representations of this instrument, which assumed its form about the beginning of the fifteenth century, are extremely rare, and accordingly the value of the specimen here is enhanced. From its peculiar shape, resembling somewhat the wing of a bird, the clavicymbal was called the "flugel" by the Germans. A beautiful Venetian example[2] of the instrument itself, adorned with painting, is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is dated 1574, and measures 7 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. by 9½ in.

8.—Portative Organ.

It requires some effort of imagination to realize that the winsome little model so charmingly portrayed here is not a mere concept of artistic fancy, but, on the contrary, that it represents an actual and important adjunct of processional and other uses in the mediæval services of the church and elsewhere, and is withal in essentials the prototype of the "king of instruments" of to-day.

This popular little instrument called the "Portative" was so named because it could be

[1] The spinet (Ital. *spinetta* or *spinetto*) is said to derive its name from the little quill (*spina*, a thorn) belonging to its mechanism.

[2] Ill. by Engel, *op. cit.*, fig. 66.

carried about during performance, in contra-distinction to the "positive," or standing organ, which was placed on a table or rested on the ground (Pl. V. 2). Both are alluded to in the will of Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London, 1522, who

bequeathed his "payre of portatyves"[1] and his "organs being and standing in my chapels" to his successor.[2] The fact, which is here implied, that both these little organs could be moved about explains a custom which obtained in the sixteenth century and is illustrated in the churchwardens' accounts of the period, namely, the lending of organs from one church to another; as, for example, at St. Margaret's, Westminster:

1508. "For bringing the organs of the Abbey into the Church, and bering them home agayne, ii*d.*";

and at St. Mary at Hill, London:

1519. "For bringing the organs from St. Andrews'

[1] It is hardly necessary to explain that the old English "payre" means a complete set, and is irrespective of the number of parts composing the set: *e.g.*, a "pair of beads," or "a pair of scissors."

[2] Hopkins and Rimbault's *History of the Organ*, ed. 1865, p. 38.

church against St. Barnabas eve and carrying them back again ..... vd."[1]

In later days the movable "positive" was attached permanently to the "great" organ of a church, and as the organist was placed at first between them with his back to the "positive", the name "chair" organ was at one time applied to this portion of the united instrument.

A popular development of the portative was the instrument called the regal, which some derive from the Ital. *rigabello*, and others from the Lat. *regula*, indicating its employment for ruling the plain-chant of the services. Its characteristic as distinct from the portative was its possession of one or more sets of reeds; hence the terms "single" and "double" regals. So convenient were these instruments that they were used by the travelling minstrels and by performers at pageants; and that they were also acceptable at Court is shown by the inclusion of several "paire" of them among the musical instruments mentioned in the inventory of Henry VIII.'s "Household stuffe and other implements."[2]

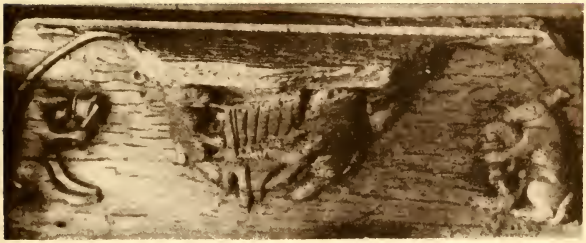
When being played the portative was either suspended from the shoulder by a strap, or rested upon the performer's knee. Usually it was played with the right hand, the bellows, single or double, being worked by the left, as shown here. Sometimes, as in a delightful little group on the Percy tomb at Beverley (Pl. V.1), the order is reversed, but it must surely have required a lusty courage to sing, play, and blow the organ at the same time, as there portrayed.

The number of pipes varied greatly: in the early examples they were comparatively few.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 46; see also Dr. Cox's *Churchwardens' Accounts*.

[2] The inventory is printed at length in Galpin's *History*, App. 4, p. 292.

1. Psaltery, Portative Organ and Harp (broken); a group in the vaulting of the Percy tomb, Beverley Minster (XIV. Cent.).



2. Positive Organ on a misericord at Boston Church, Lincs. (XIV. Cent.).

Here it is calculated that there may be as many as sixty-five ; four or five in a rank in the upper register dwindling to two in the lower.

9.—HARP.

Although the instrument represented here has a certain resemblance to the Irish harp, or *clarsech*, due to the slight curve of the front-piece, there is reason for supposing that the carving was more probably intended to depict the English

Harp of the period used by the minstrels. The curved front-piece is one of the characteristic differences between the Irish and Welsh harps, the latter possessing, like the modern French harp, a straight front-pillar. But in the Irish the bend is very pronounced, whereas the old English form from the eleventh century onwards persists in the slightly curved front.

The same form is given to the pig's harp in the carving of one of the misericords here.[1] This carving (Pl. V.2), it should be noted, is an example

[1] No. 13 on the South side.

of the satire commonly directed against the minstrel class in mediæval sculpture. We are inclined, therefore, to regard the specimen before us as an example of the English minstrel's harp.

In the early harps the number of strings was very variable, and need not be taken as an index of development. Usually there were eleven or thirteen;[1] but harps with five strings are found on the early " Prior's doorway " at Ely, and also among the much later sculptures in the nave at Beverley Minster ; whereas one of the harpists in the " angel quire " at Lincoln holds an instrument with sixteen strings, which is only one less than the example here, although well over two hundred years older.

10.—Psaltery.

The next two instruments, although of different shape, are very similar in character, their chief

if not their only essential difference consisting in the mode in which they were played. And as the *plectra* that *plucked* the strings of the psaltery could be used as hammers for *striking* those of the dulcimer there appears a probability that the earlier dulcimers were included under the general term Psaltery.[2]

The psaltery, as we have seen, was the prototype of the virginal, spinet, and harpischord. Its shape, like that of its successors, varied. At one time it was rectangular ; at another, it

[1] Galpin, p. 16.
[2] Galpin, p. 57.

PLATE VI.

1. Viol at the back of the reredos, Beverley Minster (XIV. Cent.)

2. Harp and Bagpipe on a misericord at Manchester Cathedral (late XV. Cent).

appears like a right-angled triangle held point upwards; and then, all the angle points being flattened, it gradually assumed the trapezoid form with fantastic outline which suggested to the Italians the name "strumente di porco," from its supposed likeness to a pig's head. This is the form exemplified here, and if the instrument were inverted and held as shown in some illustrations of it the likeness would be still more apparent.

Chaucer mentions the psaltery in the *Miller's Tale* (27-30):

> "And al above ther lay a gay sautrye
> On which he made, a-nightés, melodie
> So swetely, that al the chambre rong,
> And Angelus ad Virginem he song."

When played by a skilled hand the psaltery stood second to no other instrument, and writers praise its silvery tone in preference to that of any other. Some psalteries are shown played with the plectrum; here it is twanged by the fingers, the strings being apparently twenty in number.

11.—Dulcimer.

In our remarks upon the Clavicymbal we noted that the Dulcimer and not the Psaltery was the true parent of the pianoforte. For some centuries the descendants of the keyed-psalteries held sway, and the eighteenth century was well on its way before the principle of the mediæval clavichord, derived as we have seen from the dulcimer, was so developed as to become a serious competitor with the harpsichord. In the end, however, it completely vanquished its rival; and it is owing chiefly to the inventiveness and skill of English makers that the foreign instruments introduced into this country about 1760 have attained the wonderful degree of perfection that characterises

the modern piano. Our modest dulcimer has good reason to be proud of its offspring.

The name of this instrument seems to be derived from *dolce*, sweet, through the intermediate *dolcemela* (Fr. *doucemelle*); "an appellation," says Mr. Galpin, "given to a 'sweet-toned' stringed instrument used in France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and which possessed in the succeeding century a keyboard variety of the clavichord type."[1]

In its earliest and simplest form this very ancient instrument consisted of a flat piece of wood, on which were fastened two converging wooden strips, across which strings were stretched tuned to the national scale. Later improvements were the addition of pegs to regulate the tension of the strings, and the employment of *two* flat pieces for the body so as to make it a resonance-box.[2] The converging side strips seem to have determined the shape of the dulcimer, which here possesses thirteen strings and apparently rests upon the lap of the performer.

A high authority warns us that the tail-end of king Nebuchadnezzar's famous band was not a dulcimer at all; and it is with regret that we take leave of our sweet-sounding instrument, and the familiar cadence which it rounds off so well, and receive in exchange for it in the passage of

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

[2] See Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, p. 192.

the Book of Daniel the more "correct"—but who shall say euphonious?—bagpipe.

12.—Lute.

There is little apparent connection between the Lute of Shakespeare's time and the magical instrument that under the cunning hand of Orpheus

> "made trees,
> And the mountain-tops that freeze,
> Bow themselves, when he did sing:"

but "references to musical instruments by the poets of several ages," as a writer[1] reminds us, "often tend to mislead." Nevertheless one shrinks from the idea that the mighty intellect that testified, as we have seen, to the inconspicuous thumb-hole at the back of the recorder should be found stumbling on the slopes of Olympus. The Orphean "lute," however, seems strictly to have been a lyre, or *cithara*, which was a member of the harp family, and which, whatever its form—and it had many forms—was an instrument devoid both of sound-box and finger-board.

The traditional form of the lyre embodies the legendary exploits of Hermes with the oxen and the tortoise, to the body of the latter being attached the horns of the former, from the connecting *jugum*, or yoke, of which, the strings were stretched. There seems little doubt that the Greeks derived their lyre from Egypt; and, that it was originally one of the many forms of their most important

[1] In Stainer and Barrett's *Dictionary*.

instrument the harp is probable from representations in tablets and paintings discovered in the regions of the Nile. Very likely all these various early stringed-instruments had at first a common starting point.

The main characteristics of the lute, like its modern derivative the mandoline, are a deep pear-shaped resonance-box, and a finger-board with frets. These relate it to the guitar family as represented by the ancient Egyptian *nefer*, the modern Berber *gytarah*, the Hindoo *sitar*, which had a body made of a gourd, the moon-guitar of the Chinese, as well as the mediæval cittern and gittern. The lute comes to us from Spain, where it was introduced by the Moors, and where it is still known as the laud, a name derived from the Arabic *el'ood*, the instrument of wood.

Until the tenth century the lute only possessed four strings, but after this the number was increased, and sometimes, as perhaps is intended to be the case here, the four strings were duplicated. The frets[1] of the finger-board divided the several strings into semitones, and were distinguished by letters of the alphabet," one for each fret as many as there may be." The upper end of the neck was usually bent back at a sharp angle, a device taken over from its Arab predecessor for increasing the bearing of the strings. The sound-hole is called in an old dictionary the " rose " ; and from the same source we learn that the lutes of Bologna were esteemed the best on account of the wood of which they were made, which it is quaintly said " hath an uncommon disposition for producing a sweet sound."

Popular with the jongleurs in its earlier and smaller forms known as the mandore and the

[1] Derived from the French *ferretté*," banded with iron or other metal." (Galpin.)

pandurine, the lute developed later into the formidable and complex theorbo and chittarone, or arch-lute. "Of all stringed instruments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," says Mr. Galpin, the lute was also "the most attractive. To it the hero sang his tale of chivalry, the mother hummed her lullaby, the lover urged his pleading, and the maiden gave her answer. By such associations as these the lute was endeared to old and young alike."[1]

13.—Fithele.

The name is the old-English form of *fidula*, a contraction of the Latin *fidicula*, literally a small stringed instrument.

In ancient days there were many stringed instruments played with a bow, and their names, shape, and variety are almost legion. Large and small, single-stringed and many-stringed, they range from the rebab of the East and mighty monochord or trumscheit of the South, and from the ancient British crwth and mediæval rebec, to the viols of later days, which in their turn have been supplanted by the various members of the modern violin family.

A characteristic of the viol as distinct from the present-day violin was its flat back. This was a survival of earlier forms, front as well as back often appearing flat in the old Fitheles, as may be seen here and in examples at Exeter and

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

Beverley (Pl. VI.1). In all these cases the instrument is of a more or less square or oblong shape, and the incurvation of the waist is absent, which must have been detrimental to the bowing; these features, together with the ribs, or side-pieces, helping to distinguish the fithele from the various crwths, or crowds, rotes and rebecs with which it is sometimes confused.

The instrument here has four strings. The drawing, however, does not clearly distinguish between the sound-holes and the bridge; but doubtless they are really distinct, as elsewhere. The curved bow will be noticed: a form which we believe is now entirely obsolete save in the case of the double bass; and even here we are informed the straight bow is now sometimes used.

14.—Symphony.

Our last instrument is in some respects the most curious of all. The Symphony (Fr. *vielle*), or hurdy-gurdy, was a later form of a larger instrument called the *organistrum*, which was originally used for ecclesiastical purposes, and at first like the organ required two players to manipulate it, as shown in the sculptures at

Organistrum. (From Boscherville, Rouen Museum.)

Boscherville (above), and Santiago, and in many manuscript illustrations. One of the players

worked the keys, by pressing which the strings were "stopped"; while the other turned a handle at the end of the body which caused a wheel inside to revolve against the strings and so produce a sustained tone, the pitch of which was regulated by the keys. In the later derivative one performer was able to discharge both functions. The principle of the hurdy-gurdy was accordingly that of a viol sounded by a wheel instead of a bow; hence the name *vielle* by which it was known in France. The keys are simply slides pushed back by the player, with projections to "stop" the string.

The manner in which the symphony was held during performance varies. Sometimes the keys appear at the top, as in an example found in the *Loutrell Psalter*; in other instances it is held, as here, with the keys downwards, in which case the slides when released would fall back by their own weight. As the *vielle à roue*, or viol with a wheel, this curious instrument long continued in use, and a French specimen of the nineteenth century is included in the Galpin collection.[1]

"It is generally supposed," says Dr. Watson in his note on this instrument, "that the ancient *vielle* (whose descendant in direct line was none other than the peripatetic charmer of our youthful days, the vanished hurdy-gurdy) was the prototype of those stringed instruments which are played by friction; in which case it may be regarded as the real ancestor of the viol family." It is only fair, however, to say that in tracing the descent of this family strong claims have been

[1] There is another example in the "Henry Watson Collection" at Manchester.

made in other directions, as is the case with other complicated pedigrees, but we must forbear to pursue the investigation.

In concluding these notes upon this very interesting collection of mediæval carvings, the writer would add that it is not without trepidation that he has ventured upon ground that properly belongs to the domain of the expert in musical archæology. Should justification, however, be needed for the attempt which has been made to describe them he would seek it in the fact that no account of the carvings has hitherto been available. If, therefore, what is here presented be found to be of use, no further excuse is needed; if not, none we fear will be accepted.

The writer's acknowledgments are due and are hereby most gratefully tendered to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, to Messrs. J. and E. Cornish, Ltd., for kindly allowing the reproductions from Crowther's *Architectural History*, to Miss E. K. Prideaux, Mr. F. H. Crossley, F.S.A., and the Rev. H. G. Hiller, M.A., for the use of photographs, and to Mr. J. F. Russell, librarian of the Henry Watson Music Library, and others for help courteously rendered in various ways.

LEASOWE TOWER, 1593: A RECONSTRUCTION BY H. HOPPS.

LEASOWE CASTLE: ITS OWNERS AND HISTORY.

By E. Cuthbert Woods, L.D.S.

Read 9th December, 1920.

THE pile of buildings called The King Edward VII Memorial Convalescent Home for Railwaymen, previously known as Leasowe Castle, has had a fairly long and very varied career. Helsby, in his edition of Ormerod's *Cheshire* (ii., 474), says it was built by Ferdinando fifth (*not* eighth) earl of Derby, relying, no doubt, on the stone in the tower which bears the date 1593, the year in which that earl succeeded his father Henry. He further states that the building consisted originally of an octagonal tower four stories high, with windows on every side of its octagonal periphery, and surmounted by a flat lead roof.

The history of the manor of Wallasey, which seems originally to have included Poulton and Seacombe, is not at all clear, the evidence being scanty. One moiety was held directly of the earls of Chester, and appears to have been given, though there is no record, to Birkenhead Priory, which acquired a mediety of the church. John de Meoles, lord of Great Meols, in 1416 held 7 bovates of land in Wallasey of the Prior of Birkenhead in socage.[1] Wallasey Hall[2] was in later days

[1] Inquis. p. m.

[2] In 1296 Mary widow of Alan del Halle claimed dower against the prior of Birkenhead and against Robert the son of Alan, in respect of two messuages and 4 bovates of land in Kirkby in Walley; Chester Plea Roll 9, *m.*6.

considered the seat of this "manor." The other moiety of the manor was held of the honor of Halton by the fourth part of a knight's fee; and the second mediety of the church was given to St. Werburgh's Abbey by one of the Walley family.[1] The tenant or mesne lord of the Halton part in the time of Edward II. was Richard Samson; by 1450 he had been succeeded by Sir Thomas Stanley of Lathom and Henry Litherland of Poulton.[2] As in other cases where there is no record of change of ownership, the descent was probably quite regular, through heiresses.

The Becheton family, also prominent in Liscard, were considerable proprietors. Williamson says:

> 36 Edward III. I find that William de Becheton died [1359] seised of . . . 7 bovates of land in Wallasey, leaving his sister Alice's (married to John de Kirkby in Walley) grand-daughters his heirs.

This account, however, is not quite accurate. The heirs were William's sisters, Anilia and Ellen, and Thomas son of William, son of Robert, son of John de Kirkby Walley by Alice his wife, a third sister. The land was held in socage of Ellen de Becheton.[3]

Thomas, first Lord Stanley, who died in 145 , was found to have held three messuages and 50 acres of land in Seacombe, Liscard, Poulton and Kirkby in Walley, nothing being said of any "manor." The estate was held of Robert Beconsall in socage.[4]

The same estate of three messuages and 50 acres was held by Thomas second earl of Derby,

[1] Williamson's Villare in Add. MS. 6031, f. 128d., at the British Museum.

[2] Halton Feodary in Ormerod's *Cheshire* (ed. Helsby), i., 707. In a Chester Fine of 1607 the estate of John Litherland is described as the Manor of Wallasey, with messuages, lands, etc., in Wallasey, Liscard, Poulton and Seacombe.

[3] Chester Inq. p. m., 36 Edw. III., no. 15.

[4] Inquis. post mortem in *Dep. Keeper's Report* xxxvii., 676.

who died in 1521, of the heirs of Robert Beconsall.[1] Ferdinando, the fifth earl (1595), reputed builder of the Castle, is stated to have held the manor of Wallasey; his three daughters were co-heirs. Williamson says further:

In the 40 Elizabeth William earl of Derby [brother and successor of Ferdinando] passed over this "manor" by the name of Kirkby-Walley *alias* Walezey;[2] and 12 James I. I find that Sir John Egerton died seised of this manor, 3 messuages, 2 tofts, 500 acres of land, 200 of meadow, 1000 of pasture, etc., and 4*s*. rent *cum pertinentiis* in Walezey, late part of the possessions of William earl of Derby;[3] and John Egerton is lord thereof, 1710.

Earl Ferdinando, who was born in London about 1559, seems to have been a precocious boy, matriculating at the age of twelve at St. John's College, Oxford. In 1579, as Lord Strange, he married Alice, youngest daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorp—a union less distinguished than might have been expected for the heir of one of the great nobles of the day. He was of a literary bent, and poems of his are reputed to be contained in a collection called *Belvidere*, or *the Garden of the Muses*, published 1610, and from 1589 to 1594 he was patron of the Company of Players. He was mayor of Liverpool in 1587 and took part in raising forces to resist a possible Spanish invasion. He succeeded his father Henry, fourth earl, in 1593, but enjoyed his dignities and widespread estates but a short time, being cut off in the following April, after a painful illness, attributed by some to witchcraft and by others to poison. He was a very near heir to the crown, especially if the King of Scots were excluded as

[1] Inquis. post mortem in *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* xxxix., 95.

[2] Chester Fines, Sept. 40 Eliz. The claimant was Thomas Fox, who was perhaps acting for the Egertons of Egerton and Oulton, the next possessors.

[3] Inquis. p. m. 21 James I., no. 7. The tenure was unknown. A fine of 1609 shows that the manor was then in Sir John's possession.

a foreigner—and to the Englishmen of that day King James VI. was as much a "foreigner" as a Spanish princess would have been—and possibly the leaders of the state were rather relieved to have a romantic and wealthy nobleman out of the way.

The heir male, his brother William, sixth earl, was abroad at the time. Disputes ensued as to the provision for Ferdinando's widow and children, and these lasted some years. They were settled by an arbitration, confirmed by private acts of 4 and 7 James I., by which elaborate entails were made of great part of the estates, while others went to the widow and daughters. Lands sold by Earl William and his predecessors were excluded; this would exclude Wallasey, sold in 1598, and it is not named in the acts.

The races on the Leasowes are mentioned in King's *Vale Royal*, and the fact that the Duke of Monmouth rode his own horse at the races here in the autumn of 1682, has been referred to already in the Society's *Transactions*.[1] The tradition that James I. attended these races is discussed in our volume for 1893.[2] Why the original tower was built it is difficult to say. Rumour has it that it was built by Ferdinando as a stand for watching the horse races on the Wallasey course, but, as Mr. W. F. Irvine points out,[3] "Inasmuch as the finish of those races took place nearly two miles away, it is not a position that would commend itself to short-sighted onlookers." But for watching hawking, standing as it did almost in the centre of a plain five miles long, without a single tree, there could be few better positions. Doubtless this would have been

[1] *Trans.*, xiv., 151. [2] *Ib.*, 149.
[3] *Trans.*, liii., 94.

an excellent reason to give at the time of its erection ; but there may have been others. The walls of the old tower are over 3 ft. thick, and the remains of the fosse are still to be seen. Whatever the ostensible reason for the erection of a structure so substantial that sea air and the storms of over three centuries, in an exposed situation, have failed to affect it, it is more likely that it originated in a desire on the part of the builder to be prepared for any eventuality which the disturbed times in which he lived rendered probable.

At some time four square towers were thrown out from the alternate faces, and it is owing to this that the incised dated stone is now on an inside wall. It is impossible to fix at what date the turrets were added, but they very much resemble the architecture of the Racing Stables which stood in Wallasey, and on which Mr. R. D. Radcliffe argues thus :[1] " It is probable that the stables were erected between 1600 and 1642, and possibly by William 6th Earl of Derby, who passed much of his time at Bidston and refronted the Hall thereof." May not these additions to the tower have been made about the same time ?

They are shown in a plan of " Wallesea Manor " of 1735, which illustrates Mr. Radcliffe's paper.

Mr. Hopps, in his remarks on the older part of the building, says :

" The two turrets remaining intact have each a gable over all faces and cross ridge-pieces. They have moulded coping stones and are surmounted by stone balls. Their windows are the square-headed ones with chamfered reveals and mullions and have the protective labels typical of their age. The most westerly turret is very massive and contains an old spiral stone stairway. The building must have existed for fully two centuries in this

[1] *Trans. Hist. Soc.*, xlv., 141.

form of an octagon with four flanking turrets, because the next stone addition is clearly not ancient. . . .

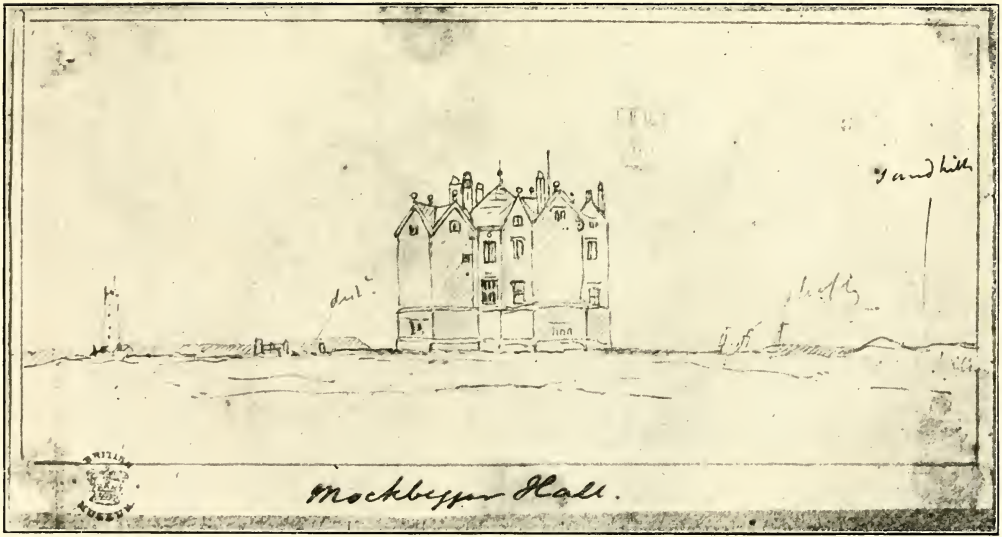
" In the ground-floor apartment of the southern turret may be seen the lower part of the jambs of the old entrance doorway (dated 1593) . . . As the sill below them is rather more than 5½ feet from the ground, it is presumable that a ramp and drawbridge for entrance originally existed, or else that a simple ladder was used, being drawn up and let down as occasion required."

As James, the seventh Earl, adhered to the King's side, the Stanleys lost heavily by the Civil War ; their estates were sequestered, and much was sold outright, but there is no mention of Wallasey or Leasowe in the sequestration records. During the Commonwealth horse-racing and other " worldly sports and pastimes " were suppressed by the Puritans, and it is believed that at this time the building once called the New Hall became ruinous,[1] and acquired the name of Mockbeggar Hall, a title given to any deserted or lonely edifice. It is marked by this name on Grenville Collin's *Pilot* of 1690, and the shore near the castle and lighthouse is marked in the charts of to-day as Mockbeggar Wharfe. Sometime about the end of the 17th century it was used as a farm house,[2] and in the parish registers of Wallasey in 1701, the burial of a son of Alice Miller of the New Hall occurs, maybe in distinction from Wallasey Old Hall, built by W. Meols in 1604.

" These four square towers," to quote Ormerod again, " terminate in gables which rise above the central tower, which has a flat leaden terrace on the summit." His work was completed in 1819, *i.e.*, nineteen years after the sketches executed by Mr. Lysons, now in the British Museum, which show the roof of the original

[1] Ormerod, ii., 174 *note*.

[2] Catalogue of Sale, 15 July, 1808.



LEASOWE IN 1800 (Lysons)

tower as it is at present. But on looking closely at the masonry, from outside, Mr. Hopps called my attention to the fact that the upper stone work above the Oak Room window on the south-east front, does not appear so weathered as that of the turrets, or the rest of the tower, for on the former portion the chisel marks are still visible. So possibly another storey was built on to the oldest portion by Mr. Egerton of Oulton when he made it his residence in 1778. Mr. Egerton died there in 1786.

The building next passed by purchase to one Robert Harrison, who sold it in 1802 to the widow of Lewis W. Boode, a West Indian planter, described as "of Amsterdam and Peover Hall." It is in the act of sale that the place is first called "Leasowe Castle." In 1818 considerable additions and alterations were made to the Castle by Mrs. Boode, from the plans of Foster of Liverpool. Mrs. Boode was Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Dannett, rector of Liverpool. Ormerod described the gardens in 1816 thus:

"The gardens are surrounded with a large fosse and mound, and disposed in terraces and alcoves. The Castle is situated towards the middle of a large level plain called the Leasowe which stretches along the end of Wirral and is protected partially from the inroads of the sea by a range of sandhills, but does not boast of a single shrub to break the monotony of the prospect. This plain, containing about 220 acres, is about to be enclosed . . . in the act the sandhills are directed to be preserved as security from the inroads of the Irish Sea."

These sandhills were eroded away soon after this, for the Act to build the first part of the embankment was passed in 1829.[1]

During Mrs. Boode's occupancy of the castle, it was frequently turned into a receiving house

[1] Mortimer, *Hist. of Wirral*, p. 294.

and hospital for the survivors of the shipwrecks which were then of frequent occurrence on this coast. Unfortunately the inhabitants looked upon all property cast up by the sea as their own. From the report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the necessity of a police force in 1837, we learn that, for wrecking, the counties of Cheshire and Cornwall were the worst : " On the Cheshire coast not far from Liverpool they will rob those who have escaped the perils of the sea and come safe on shore, and mutilate dead bodies for the sake of rings and personal ornaments."

Mrs. Boode was killed in a carriage accident, 21st April, 1826. A gothic monument was erected to commemorate the accident and placed near the spot where it occurred in Breck Road, but owing to widening the road at this point it does not now occupy its original site. On a stone in the wall which surrounds this monument is the following inscription :

Near this spot Mrs. BOODE of Leasowe Castle was killed by a fall from her pony-carriage April 21st, 1826. May ye who pass by respect this memorial of an awful dispensation and the affectionate tribute of an only child to perpetuate her dear mother's memory beyond the existence of that breast which will never cease to cherish it. Ah, may the sad remembrance which attaches to this spot impress on everyone this salutary warning :

" In the midst of life we are in death."

Mrs. Boode's daughter and heir, Mary Anne, married Col. Edward Cust at Marylebone Church, on 11th January, 1821. Her husband was born in 1794, being the sixth son of Brownlow Cust,[1] first Lord Brownlow, and a brother of John Cust, first Earl Brownlow. He was born at 30, Hill Street, Berkeley Square, London. He was gazetted Colonel in the 16th Light Dragoons on

[1] *Dict. of Nat. Biography.*

15th March, 1810, and saw active service in the Peninsular War. In 1816, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, afterwards King of the Belgians, and an Hon. Colonel in the 16th Light Dragoons, appointed Cust as his equerry, and afterwards gave him the Grand Cross Order of Leopold of Belgium. In 1831, when Leopold became King of the Belgians, Cust was created Knight Commander of the Guelphic Order of Hanover. In 1818, he became M.P. for Grantham, and sat for Lostwithiel from 1826 till the suppression of that borough in the Reform Bill of 1832. He became Assistant Master of Ceremonies to Queen Victoria in 1845 and Master of Ceremonies in 1847. He was author of several military histories, for which he received in 1869 the Gold Medal of the Austrian Empire, from the Emperor of Austria. In 1848, he published *Sunday Night Readings*, and in 1850 *Family Readings from the New Testament harmonised and explained*. He received the honorary degree of D.C.L. at Oxford in 1853. He was made a baronet in 1876.

He married, as already stated, the only child of Lewis W. Boode, heiress also of her mother. She was Bed-chamber woman to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent, mother of Queen Victoria. She wrote a book on "Cats," being a cat fancier, and died on 10th July, 1882. By her Cust left one son, Leopold (called after his godfather, the King of the Belgians) and four daughters.

In May, 1828, Col. Cust (as he then was) converted Leasowe Castle, his wife's property, into an hotel, but it was not a success, and about 1843 he made his residence there, and visited it at times till shortly before his death in 1878. He was senior magistrate for Wirral for a number of years, and elected one of the first Vice-Presidents of this Society on its formation in

1849, a position he retained till he became President in 1859. It was he who presented to it the ivory mace (which originally belonged to the Kings of Poland), still in evidence at our meetings.

It was probably when Sir Edward Cust decided to make Leasowe his residence that he built the surrounding wall with the gates and gate house. This makes a striking entrance, with the stone portals surmounted by a pair of watch dogs (the crest of his family) and the motto " Qui Cust odit caveat." The so-called Canute's Seat, which occupies such a prominent position in the plate of the castle in Ormerod, was also probably the outcome of his brain, for, as we have seen, till recent times this point was separated from the sea by a range of sandhills.

Close by are three boulder stones, one 6 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. by 3 ft., the others about 7 ft. by 7 ft. by 3 ft. There is a local legend to the effect that these stones were once the favourite haunt of a very fascinating but dangerous mermaiden. To look upon her was certain death, the heart of the observer " being burnt to ashes within his breast." Some twenty years ago there was a board about 4 ft. by 3 ft. fixed to the wall close by, which (as well as I remember) went on to say that when the tide was at flood and the moon at full at midnight, the lady was to be seen here, combing her hair in the manner adopted by her kind. Owing to the more abstemious use of intoxicating liquors mermaids are hardly ever now seen on this coast, but among the folk-books mentioned in *Chap-books of the 18th Century* is one with this promising title :

" The Wonder of Wonders, being A Strange and Wonderful Relation of a Mermaid, that was seen and spoken with, on the Black Rock, nigh Liverpool, by John Robinson, Mariner,

who was tossed on the Ocean for Six days and Nights. Together with the Conversation he had with her, and how he was preserved ; with the manner of his Death five days after his return Home. Licensed and entered According to Order."

A slight quotation may be allowed :

" But to his great Amazement he espy'd a beautiful young Lady combing her head, and toss'd on the Billows, cloathed all in green (but by chance he got the first word with her) then she with a smile came on board and asked how he did. The young Man being Something Smart and a good Scholar, reply'd, Madam I am the better to see you in good Health, in great hopes trusting you will be a comfort and assistance to me in this my low Condition ; and so caught hold of her Comb and Green Girdle that was About her Waist. To which she replied, Sir, you ought not to rob a young Woman of her Riches, and then expect a favour at her Hands ; but if you will give me my Comb and Girdle again, what lies in my power I will do for you."

No sailor could resist such an entreaty, and—

" At her departure the tempest ceased and blew a fair Gale to South West, so he got safe on shore ; but when he came to his Father's House he found every Thing as she had told him. For she told him also concerning his being left on Ship board, and how all the Seamen perished, which he found all true what she had told him, according to the promise made him. He was still very much troubled in his Mind, concerning his promise, but while yet he was thus musing, she appeared to him with a smiling Countenance and (by his Misfortune) she got the first word of him, so that he could not speak one Word, but was quite Dumb, yet he took Notice of the Words she spoke ; and she began to Sing. After which she departed out from the young Man's sight, taking from him the Compass. She took a Ring from off her Finger, and put it on the young Man's, and said, she expected to see him once again with more Freedom. But he never saw her more, upon which he came to himself again, went home, and was taken ill, and died in five Days after, to the wonderful Admiration of all People who saw the young Man."

The Black Rock referred to is that on which the old Rock Perch stood till replaced in 1827 by the present lighthouse.

To the right of the present main entrance is a mounting stone, a reminder of the fact that Miss Boode (Lady Cust) was an excellent horsewoman. When she presented the silver bugle to the local volunteers, although the ceremony took place in a field adjoining the castle, she appeared mounted upon her Arab charger.[1]

Of the alterations and improvements which Sir Edward introduced into the castle itself, perhaps the decorating of his dining room with the oak panelling from the celebrated Star Chamber at Westminster is most noteworthy. This he purchased when the old Exchequer buildings were demolished in 1836. All this oak was removed from the castle after the sale of the furniture in September, 1895. Shortly after the German prisoners left the castle, a fire occurred which involved one corner of the Star Chamber, and some of the panelling when removed showed traces of having suffered by fire previously—which would be when the old Exchequer buildings were partly destroyed. Some of the tapestry in this room is said to be fairly old, and that which was burnt it was found quite impossible to replace.

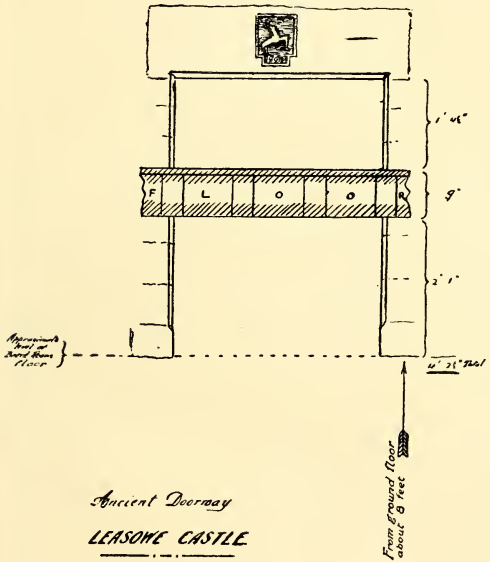
The room now used as the board room was Sir Edward's library, and was fitted by him with bog oak from the submerged forest. There still remains a dummy bookcase, masking a door of a passage leading to a window which looks into the basement. A list of the titles on the dummies still *in situ* will be found at the end of this paper.

The incised stone and built-in doorway already mentioned are not at the end of this passage, but more to the left, and behind the fireplace. The

[1] For further details of this ceremony the reader is referred to *Memories of Birkenhead*, by Mrs. Gamlin, p. 85. A copy of the poem she refers to is to be found in the Wallasey Library.

LEASOWE CASTLE: STAR CHAMBER IN SIR E. CUST'S TIME.

floor of the board room, which is of English oak, is about 8 ft. above the present ground level. I have a sketch by Mr. Hopps of the appearance of this built-up doorway, from the basement below, and also a plan showing how much is to



Ancient Doorway

LEASOWE CASTLE

be seen in the storeroom above. The height which the stone stands above the ground is 11 ft. 3 in., so Ormerod is scarcely correct in saying it is "in the upper interior part of the tower." This door I take to be the original main entrance.

The second floor of the old tower, known as the Oak, or Ghost, Room,[1] is roughly octagonal in

[1] *The Castle by the Sea*, p. 32.

shape, 26 ft. by 23 ft., and is lighted by two quaint lantern-shaped windows set in the enormously thick walls. The room is panelled from floor to ceiling, which is traversed by two massive oak beams. The walls, however, were not originally wainscoted, but were of rough hewn stone. There is an old legend that at one period of the castle's history there was a serious feud between some of the powerful families of the North and West, with the result that the chief of one of the opposing factions and his young son were captured and confined in this room. It was given out that the father first smothered his son and then committed suicide by dashing out his brains against the stone wall of the room. It has been related to me that, in the later hotel days of the castle, the Oak Room was on one occasion occupied by a visitor who knew nothing of this story, but who made a terrible hullaballoo at midnight about a man and a boy he swore he saw standing in the moonlight between his bed and the window. 'Tis also said that the clanking of chains up and down the old stone stairs has been heard at midnight on various occasions.

The floor of the above Oak Room was, I think, the flat roof of the original tower. Helsby, in Ormerod (ii., 473), says this "consisted of a *tall* octagonal tower, four stories high." If, as he further states, the turrets added later rose from the central building I do not see how this can be. These words "of four stories" do not appear in the first edition. There is nothing of interest except an old doorway on this floor, which is divided up into small rooms and passages, as the plan shows. The numerous additions which have from time to time been made render it difficult at first to see which the original was, but on the third floor plan it shows clearly enough.

The original building, as far as can be made out, consisted of a basement excavated three to four feet below the level of the ground, useful as a place of confinement for prisoners. There may have been a well in this, or a cistern into which the rain falling on the flat roof drained, but I have not been able to find any trace of either. Then the first floor, now the board room, which still retains its floor of English oak. Above it a second floor, the oak room, surmounted by the flat lead roof.

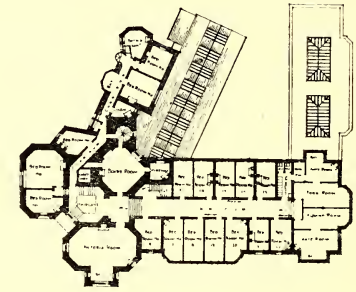
Writing in 1866, Dr. Hume mentions a well near the gate of the castle, surrounded by a wall about 4 ft. high, with a gallows crane suspended over it.[1] There was no scarcity of water in this area, several springs existing on the shore. One directly to seaward of the castle, below high-water mark, had medicinal properties.[2]

The four turrets of the tower are not geometrically perfect, as a glance at the plans will show. One of them contains a stone spiral stair, which commences in the basement, on a level with the ground, and has a door to the board room and the Oak Room. It terminates in a kind of platform outside the door on the top floor.

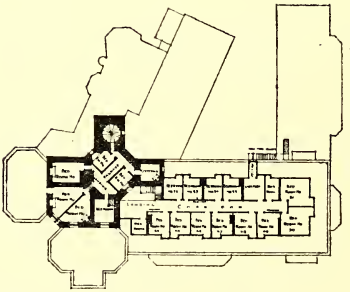
Besides fitting the library with oak from the submerged forest, Sir Edward Cust was responsible for the so-called Battle Staircase, the rails of which are of iron, 84 in number. On each is carefully inscribed in coloured letters one of the 84 principal and decisive battles in which the English took part in the 18th and 19th centuries, from Blenheim, 1704, to Sebastopol. On each of these rails is also affixed the name of the sovereign in whose reign the battle was fought, and the names of the British and the foreign General in

[1] *Trans. H. S.*, xviii., 60. [2] *Ibid.*, i., 105.

command of the respective forces.[1] At the foot of the staircase is a handsome marble pedestal, surmounted by a figure of Victory holding a laurel wreath in outstretched hand. The column



First Floor Plan



Third Floor Plan

bears the following inscription, " Opera illius mea sunt," the motto of the first Lord Brownlow, Sir E. Cust's father. Beneath this inscription is

[1] Cat. of Sale, 17 June, 1893.

an order or decoration. It is circular in shape, and is surmounted by a diadem with a cross. Upon it is blazoned an olive branch, crossed by a sword, and the legend "Dieu et mon droit" and "Beati pacifici."[1]

The alabaster bas-relief, which has painted above it these words:

"These Remains of Forest Life were found under the peat soil upon this shore and seem to verify the local adage:

From Birkinheven unto Hilbree
A squirrel might leape from tree to tree,"

is supposed to depict life in the forest. Both the panel and the spelling of the superscription I take to be part of Sir Edward's scheme of pseudo-antique decoration. Another instance of it are the curious carvings above the boiler-house door. Mr. H. Hopps suggests that they might represent "E M A C" (Sir Edward and Lady Cust's initials), and below the date—

M C^{VIII} X^{III} IV (or 1834).

If his surmise is correct it shows approximately the date when Sir Edward discontinued the hotel and made the castle his residence.

It is an interesting fact that the first Saint Bernard dog ever brought to this country found a home at Leasowe Castle.

Sir Edward Cust died on 14th January, 1878, aged 83, in Jermyn Street, London, and the property passed to his only son, Sir Leopold Cust, Bart., who died in Ireland in 1878, and was succeeded by Sir Charles Cust.

The castle and grounds (in all about 50 acres) were offered for sale by auction by Messrs. Branch and Leete, on 17th June, 1893, but there was no offer. They were again offered for sale in September, 1895, by order of Sir Charles Cust,

[1] *Castle by the Sea*, p. 26.

who was relinquishing his Cheshire property, The sale took from the 16th to the 20th of September, and not only the castle and estate, but all the furniture and fittings were disposed of. The property was bought by a company and once again converted into a hotel, under the name of "The Leasowe Castle Hotel." On 15th July, 1908, the property was offered for sale as a going concern, including furniture, fittings, etc., and Mr. Harold Smith, of Birkenhead, brother of the present Lord Chancellor, was the auctioneer. The bidding commenced at £9,000, rose to £10,000, and after a few desultory bids was withdrawn at £11,750. It was finally purchased by the Trustees of the Railwaymen's Convalescent Homes in 1910 for £11,750, and the trustees spent a further sum of £2,500 in various alterations.

The new home was formally opened on 12th June, 1911, by Mrs. Mason Hutchinson, Lady Mayoress of Liverpool, assisted by the Mayor and Mayoress of Wallasey. The consecration service was performed by the Bishop of Chester, assisted by Archdeacon Spooner of Warrington and a portion of the choir from Liverpool Cathedral. During the war the place was used for housing German prisoners, but a few months ago it once more renewed its functions as a convalescent home for railwaymen.

The matter in this paper has been collected from various sources and authors, as Ormerod, Mortimer, Lysons, and a most interesting brochure called *The Castle by the Sea*, written by Mr. T. S. Ling, one of the late trustees of the Railwaymen's Convalescent Homes, and sold for the benefit of the institution. Besides permission to quote from this book, Mr. Ling has been kind enough to supply me with further information about the Castle, and with plans. My thanks are also due

to Mr. P. C. Brown and Mr. H. Hopps for much assistance in collecting data and slides, and to the latter for the sketches which illustrate it.

Appendices.

I. A LIST

OF THE FACETIOUS BOOK TITLES THAT ARE STILL IN SITU ON THE DUMMY BOOKCASE AT LEASOWE CASTLE.

Top row.—Custs of the past. Opera illius.
1. Religious; 2. Virtuous; 3. Worthy; 4. Sensible; 5. Honest; 6. Useful; 7. Beneficent; 8. Loved; 9. Respected.

The Custs of the future. Opera mea.
1. Peers and Peeresses; 2. Baronets; 3. Knights; 4. Ladies; 5. Honourables; 6. Rt. Honourables; 7. Bishops.

Second Row.—Payne on pleasure; Contentment, Moore; The Longman Family, Tallboys; On Angling, Dr. Hook; Reminiscences of a Nursemaid, Infant; Cookery, Fryer; Above and below, Parr; 1, 2, 3. Adventures of a Rook, Crowe; Vocal Music, Singer; How to keep cool, Airey; On laughter, Smiles; Under a cloak, Hood; Lightfoot on Dancing; Essays on greediness, Moore; Rifle practice, Butts; English Orchards, Pears; Art of Matchmaking, Lowe; Church Music, Bell; Billiards, Kew; Fruit of learning, Plumtree; Evils of squinting, Boswell; The days of Chivalry, Knight; Cricket, Balls.

Third row.—Miseries of Life; Smoky chimneys; Stinking Lamps; Open doors.

Fourth row.—Military Records: 1, The sports of Nimrod; 2. Chevy Chase; 3. Abraham's Defeat of the Kings; 4. Encampment of Moses; 5. Joshua's Conquests; 6. Assyrian Campaigns; 7. Siege of Samaria; 8. Nebuchadnezzar's Judaean Campaign; 9. Cyrus's Jewish Campaign; 10. Alexander conquers the World; 11. The World conquered by Caesar; 12. The World conquered by Napoleon; 13. Britannia rules the Waves.

Fifth (bottom) row.—Life of Bacon, Hogg ; Culture of Trees, Bush ; History of Spiritualism, Rapper ; King's Republic ; Needle-making, Sharp ; Rushes, Reed ; Counties of Hills, Kent ; vol. 1, 2, 3. Purgatory, Purge ; Value of Money, Penny ; Perpetual motion, Dunn ; vol. 1, 2, 3. Adulteration of Bread, Hallam ; Ironical Essays, Steel ; St. Paul, Peters ; The Arctic regions, South ; Our Aristocracy, Earle ; Hitchcock on Drapery ; French on the English ; Effects of true wit, Smiles ; The Pope not Infallible, Watt ; Blackman's Hindoo Law ; Employers and Employed, Masterman.

II. THE OXGANGS IN WALLASEY PARISH, 1768.

The following lists of the Oxgangs in Wallasey and Liscard are copied from John Hough's Notebook or Journal, of which an account was given in the last volume of *Transactions* :

Wallasey.

	O.	H.	Q.
Jonathan Dean	10	½	⅛
Thomas Hill	3	0	¼
John Rainford	1	½	0
Henry Bird	0	0	¾
Mrs. Gorden	1	0	¼
William Smith	0	0	½
Mrs. Urmson	3	0	0
John Harvey	1	0	½
Richard Jackson	6	0	¼-⅛
Phoebe Hillard	1	0	½
Mrs. Webster	2	0	0
Josh. Dean	1	0	¼
Thomas Dean	7	0	0
John Hill	5	0	¼
Thomas Robinson	1	0	0
Daniel Robinson	0	0	2
Thomas Rodgers	0	0	½
Ann Reily	0	0	¼
William Coventry	0	0	¼
Daniel Taylor	2	0	0
Elizabeth Rainford	1	0	½
Thomas Dean of Hoes Side	1	0	0
	[? 56]		

Liscard.

John Molyneux	4	0	0

	O.	H.	Q.
Josh. Robinson	0	½	0
Robt. Richardson	1	0	0
William Strong	1	½	0
William Evans	1	½	0
Nicholas Seed	2	½	0
John Dean, senior	2	½	0
Samuel Cotton	0	½	0
John Hough	2	0	0
Jonathan Dean	6	0	0
Edward Young	7	0	0
Margaret Tyrer	1	0	0
Elizabeth Richardson	2	0	0
Thomas Wilson	3	0	0
Deborah Wilcock	1	½	0
Thomas Stanley	2	½	0
Samuel Urmston	0	½	0
Thomas Strong	3	0	0
Josh. Kenyon	0	½	0
Thomas Dean	1	½	0
Daniel Robinson	0	½	0
Robert Postlethwaite	0	½	0
James Coventry	0	0	¼
John Dean, junior	2	3	0
William Young	1	0	0
George Mulls	1	½	0

[? 56]

Though the columns are headed Oxgangs, Halves and Quarters, it would appear that ½ in the second column means *half* an oxgang, not *half of half*. The figures in the third column seem to be half and quarter oxgangs. But this is doubtful.

On another page occurs the memorandum:

> 1748 and 1749.—Mr. Hough and Mr. Hillard, Churchwardens. One lay of 1*s.* 6*d.* per year for 3 years. 5 oxgangs his own estate and 1 oxgang Bread Land; 6 oxgangs in all.

The Bread Dole oxgang does not seem to be mentioned in the above, but it may be under the occupier's name.

From a plea recorded in the *Cheshire Sheaf* (Series III., No. 4416) it would appear that there were in Poulton about 1600 exactly 28 oxgangs, viz., 17 in Poulton proper and 11 in Seacombe.

Supposing there is some slight mistake in the Liscard figures, so that this township and Wallasey had 56 oxgangs each, the total for the parish would amount to 140 oxgangs. This would point to an entirely fresh assessment of the parish according to oxgangs of land, for 140 does not well agree with either the $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides or 4 carucates shown in Domesday Book, as the assessment of Wallasey. It shows instead $17\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of land. Two holdings of 7 bovates each (recorded above) would suit a total of 56 oxgangs.

PLATE I.

A XIVth CENTURY ENGLISH ALABASTER OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

By Philip Nelson, M.D., F.S.A.

Read 7th April, 1921.

THE alabaster carving of the Blessed Virgin and Child, which forms the subject of this paper, is of English workmanship and, prior to its acquisition by me, was in a church in Brittany. Many English alabasters are still to be seen in Brittany, and that there was a very considerable trade in alabaster-work between England and Brittany, countries in close commercial and court connection, is evidenced by the export to Nantes of the tomb of John IV., duke of Brittany, the first husband of Joan, second wife of Henry IV. of England, in 1408, at which time a safe conduct was granted to John Guychard on the occasion of its export to that country by the following bill of Privy Seal :

Rex universis & singulis Admirallis &c. ad quos &c. Salutem. Sciatis quod nos ad supplicationem carissimæ Consortis nostræ, quæ ad quandam tumbam alabastri, quam pro Duce Britanniæ defuncto, quondam viro suo, fieri fecit, in bargea de Seynt Nicholas de Nantes in Britannia, una cum tribus ligeorum nostrorum Anglicorum, qui eandem tumbam operati fuerunt—videlicet, Thoma Colyn, Thoma Holewell, & Thoma Poppehowe—ad tumbam prædictam in ecclesia de Nantes in Britannia assidendum & ponendum, ad præsens ordinavit mittendum, Suscepimus in salvum & securum conductum nostrum Johannem Guychard, mercatorem, Magistrum bargeæ prædictæ, ac decem servitores suos, marinarios in comitiva sua, ad Britanniam, ut prædictum est, transeundo, & exinde in regnum

nostrum Angliæ mercatorie redeundo, necnon bargeam prædictam, ac bona et hernesia sua quæcumque ; Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ipsum Johannem, & servitores ac Marinarios suos prædictos, versus Britanniam transeundo & exinde in regnum nostrum Angliæ mercatorie redeundo, necnon bargeam prædictam ac bona & hernesia sua quæcumque, manuteneatis, protegatis & defendatis, non inferentes eis seu quantum in vobis est inferri permittentes injuriam, molestiam, dampnum, violenciam, impedimentum aliquod seu gravamen, Et si quid eis forisfactum vel injuriatum fuerit id eis sine dilacione debite corrigi et reformari faciatis. Proviso semper quod ipsi quicquam nobis vel populo nostro seu dicto regno nostro aut aliis dominiis et potestatibus nostris præjudiciale colore præsencium interim non attemptent seu faciant quovis modo. In cujus &c. usque festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ proximo futurum duraturas. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxiiij die Februarii [1407-8].[1]

This statuette measures 16 ins. in height. The back is hollowed out and provided with two latten wire loops, for attachment to its wooden "housyng." The design may be thus described: The Holy Mother, who rests her weight upon her right foot, wears a long white robe edged with gold, over which is draped a white cloak lined with scarlet and edged with gold. On her head is a tall elaborate open crown and in her left hand she holds a very long sceptre enriched with leaves.[2] Upon her right arm she supports the Divine Child, clad in a white robe and cloak, both edged with gold, who holds in both hands a bird.[3]

It would be of interest if we could identify the atelier from whence came this carving, and there

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, viii., 510-511 (from Treaty Roll 91, m. 15).

[2] The sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre.—Psalm xlv., 6.

[3] In regard to the presence of a bird in the hands of the Child I would hazard the suggestion that this may refer to the miracle of the twelve clay sparrows made on the Sabbath, which became endowed with life upon Christ clapping His hands.—Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, xxvii. ; Gospel of Thomas, ii. ; The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, xxxvi.

THE FLAWFORD VIRGIN
(Nottingham Museum).

is some evidence which may assist us in arriving at a conclusion in this matter.

We know that Edward III., in 1367, purchased from Peter Mason of St. Mary's Street, Nottingham, for the sum of £200, an alabaster reredos, doubtless one consisting of large separate figures, for the chapel of St. George at Windsor, which required for its conveyance thither in 1371, ten carts.

Again, during the priorate of John Fossor of Durham, 1341-1374, he gave to the cathedral, "Imagines sanctæ Trinitatis et beatæ Virginis, de alabastro, cum tabernaculis, cum aliis ornamentis, pretium 22.l."[1]

Subsequent to this (in 1374), John, lord Neville of Raby, in conjunction with Prior Fossor and others, gave the sum of £700 for the purchase of "illud opus super altare quod vocatur La Reredos;"[2] and from the *Rites of Durham* we learn that "right over the said hye altar were artificially placed in very fine Alabaster the picture of our Lady standinge in the midst, and the picture of St. Cuthb: on the one side and the picture of St. Oswald on the other beinge all richly gilded."[3] This reredos, though it was shipped in cases from London, was as regards the imagery doubtless of Nottingham workmanship.

In 1779 there were found beneath the floor of the church at Flawford, Notts., three large alabaster images of the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter and a bishop, which may be dated as *circa* 1360. These, as is also true of the Pieta at Breadsall, Derby, may be considered as of Nottingham

[1] *Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Society, 1839), p. 131.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[3] *The Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 107), p. 7.

origin, and give us the clue as to the character of the sculpture produced there at that period. The Flawford Virgin (Pl. 2) is very similar to the large figure at Cadillac-sur-Garonne (Pl. 3), and, like it, exhibits that marked swaying of the figure, *hauchement*, which, perhaps derived from the workers in ivory, was a method of treatment one associates rather with the French school than with the English.

The statuette (Pl. 1), the subject of this paper, has a close connection with the Cadillac figure, but lacks the graceful sway which it exhibits, while the folds of the drapery are treated in a much simpler manner and it thus comes into relationship with the English alabaster image of the Virgin, preserved in the church of St. Seurin, Bordeaux.[1]

In all these examples the Child is depicted as uncrowned, for it is only in figures of the late fifteenth century that we find Him crowned, in addition to the Mother.

I would suggest, therefore, in conclusion, that this statuette was wrought at Nottingham, *circa* 1380, not improbably in the workshop of Peter the Mason.

My thanks are due to M: J. A. Bruitails for his kind permission to reproduce the photograph of the Cadillac Virgin (Pl. 3), and to the Society of Antiquaries for the use of the block (Pl. 2), of the Flawford Madonna.

[1] J. A. Bruitails, *Album d'Objets d'Art existant dans les Èglises de la Gironde*, pl. xii., fig. 2.

PLATE III.

THE CADILLAC SCULPTURE.

COMMUNICATIONS.

THE CROSSE FAMILY OF WIGAN, CHORLEY AND LIVERPOOL.

By R. Stewart-Brown, M.A., F.S.A., and F. C. Beazley, F.S.A.

THE main lines of descent of this ancient Lancashire family, now represented by Crosse of Shaw Hill, Chorley, Co. Lancaster, and Legh of Adlington, Co. Chester, are well known and were recorded in 1846 in Burke's *Landed Gentry* and in 1873 in Foster's *Lancashire Pedigrees*. Neither of these pedigrees is satisfactory and both are very weak in details and in the collateral lines. Since they were compiled much information has become available; for example a *Calendar* of the Crosse deeds at Shaw Hill, by Mr. R. D. Radcliffe, further Crosse deeds in Towneley MS. GG (British Museum), and, above all, the valuable notices of the family in the *Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*. Owing to the plan of that work, the Crosse family was necessarily dealt with by the editors in many places, and mainly for the manorial and landed descents, so that one has to refer for the family to the accounts of Lathom, Wigan, Chorley, Aughton, Uplitherland and Liverpool. The article on the last place was written by another hand and no connected account is given of the long and close connection of the Crosse family with the town. Hence, on several grounds, it

seems desirable to restate the pedigree, at least down to 1700, after which date there is little that is new to be recorded.

The pedigree from Adam del Crosse of Wigan is clear. The earlier descent suggested from the Waleys of Lathom is not proved but, on general probabilities and after a study of the evidence provided in the references, seems very likely. Earlier occurrences of these Walenses are found at Lathom and elsewhere and they may well have been descendants of men from Wales who settled in 1177 in various parts of Lancashire and also in Wirral, after their leader, Robert Banastre, was expelled from Rhuddlan by Owen Gwynedd.[1] In this connection it may be noted that the names of Adam, Thurstan, Gilbert, Robert and Richard, all Banastre names, occur in the early Crosse pedigree.

Amongst much entirely new matter the wills of various members of the Crosse family are of interest; and several show their continued attachment, though settled elsewhere, to the chapels of St. Nicholas and St. Mary del Quay at Liverpool. Some contain gifts of books to Oxford colleges. Perhaps the most noticeable new facts in the pedigree are the results of some prolonged investigations for the purpose of identifying persons of this family bearing the name of John Crosse who appear in holy orders between 1500 and 1530. At the outset there seemed to be four or five different clergymen of this name, and there has been the greatest confusion made between them which has been difficult to clear up. It has now been fairly solidly established that there were only two. One of them was the rector of St. Nicholas' in the Shambles, London,

[1] See *Vict. Co. Hist. Lancs.*, i., 369; ii., 189; iii., 289, 295, 299, etc.; *Cal. Close Roll*, 1227-31, 159; Fine Roll, 13 Hen III. m. 7, 11; Pipe Roll, 3 Hen III., etc.

who died in 1517 and was the founder, by one of his wills, of the grammar school at Liverpool, and of a chantry in the chapel of St. Nicholas there. The other was his nephew John Crosse, rector of Moulsoe and holder of various other benefices. Mr. Leach, in his account of the schools of Lancashire,[1] thinks the John Crosse who died in 1502 and was mayor of Liverpool 1459 and 1476, was probably the founder of the chantry, but this is an obvious error as the founder was a younger son and the foundation was in 1515. Foster, in his pedigree, combines, in the person of the nephew, the rectors of St. Nicholas, of Turvey (Beds.) and of Moulsoe (Bucks); Burke does the same and makes him the founder of the grammar school. Both are wrong. We have established that the rector of St. Nicholas' in the Shambles was also rector of Turvey and, as such, made a second will in 1517. His patron at Turvey was John Mordaunt, afterwards Lord Mordaunt, who evidently held the Crosse family in high regard, for he presented John Crosse, the nephew of the rector of Turvey and the ultimate heir of the Lancashire family, to several benefices in succession; and finally by his will in 1560, forty-three years after the rector's death, left thirty shillings for prayers for his soul in recompense for certain tithes which had been due to him. This continued patronage by Lord Mordaunt may have had some connection with the fact that his father Sir John Mordaunt, knight, of Turvey, who fought on the Lancastrian side at Barnet, had been appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1504, the year of his death. He had other earlier local connections, having been granted, when a King's Serjeant, the manors of Eaton and Rushton, Co. Chester, by George Earl

[1] V.C.H. ii, 593b.

of Kent and he also became one of the Chester Justices in eyre and eventually Justice of the Palatine Court of that county. A number of Lancashire families seem to have settled in Bedfordshire on the Mordaunt estates and we find that the Lancashire names of Pemberton and Raynford (which occur in the pedigree below) are well known in the neighbourhood of the parish of Turvey.

In the course of our searches we have met with a number of persons at Oxford, Newark and in Lincolnshire in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who bore the name of Latimer Crosse. We have been unable to place them in this pedigree, but it seems very likely that they descended from a branch of the Lancashire Crosses named after some member of the family of Sir Nicholas Latimer, whose daughter Edith was the wife of Sir John Mordaunt the Chancellor, and the mother of the Crosses' patron.[1]

A pedigree dated 1598 (attributed to Camden) of the Crosses of Charlinch near Bridgewater and of Sutton, Co. Chester, has been printed,[2] in which that family is stated to descend from the Crosses of Crosse Hall, Lancashire, but the pedigree appears to be quite untrustworthy and we have been unable to verify a single statement in the six generations which it contains. It appears to have been one of the W. S. Spence frauds, exposed over sixty years ago in *Notes and Queries*.[3]

[1] Robert Latimer, gent., was one of the executors of the rector of Moulsoe, 1533. The name Latimer Crosse occurs in 1862 as that of a son of Thos. Crosse, of Brodlands and Friskney, Co. Lincs., in a suit in which it appears the father owned the manor of Wrenbury, Co. Chester (*Law Times Reports*, 8 N.S. 399). According to Ormerod's *Cheshire*, John Cross of Wrenbury, who died in 1855, assumed the name of Starkey under a will of 1809.

[2] *Cheshire Sheaf*, Ser. III., vol. v., 94.

[3] 2nd Series, vol. ix.

We feel sure, however, that the collateral lines of the pedigree here printed are capable of much further elaboration, but this we must leave to others.

As will be seen from the references we have made very full use of the Victoria *History* and to the editors the fullest acknowledgments are due. So far as possible an independent investigation of the available sources has been made.

The following abbreviated references have been used :—

V.C.H.=the *Victoria Hist. of Co. Lancaster.*

C.D.=Crosse Deeds, in *Schedule of Deeds at Shaw Hill, Chorley,* by R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A. (*Trans.* Hist. Soc. Lancs. & Chesh., Vols. xli., xlii., xliii., xlv. ; also priv. reprint, 1895).

T.=Crosse and other deeds, in Towneley MS. GG (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 32305).

M.D.=Moore Deeds, in *Calendar of Moore MSS.* (Rec. Soc. Lancs. & Chesh. Vol. lxvii.).

PEDIGREE No. 1.

I. Robert le Waleys, of the Cross of Lathom, near Ormskirk, Co. Lancs. *temp.* Henry III ; mentioned as greatgrandfather of Robert of the Cross of Lathom in a suit of 1321 (V.C.H., iii. 255, *n.*6).

II.—Richard le Waleys, of the Cross of Lathom, son and heir of (I.) (suit of 1321) ; perhaps identical with Richard de la Croyz, father of Adam de la Croyz of Wigan (C.D. 20) ; issue :—

1.—*Richard le Waleys* (III.), of whom below.

2.—*Robert of the Cross of Lathom,* the elder, living 1291 and 1309 (V.C.H. iii. 255).

3.—*Adam,* brother of Robert of the Cross of Lathom the elder (*ibid*) ; perhaps identical with Adam de Cruce of Wigan (see Pedigree No. 2 and V.C.H. iv., 75, *n.*98; iii. 255, *n.*7).

4.—*Henry,* living 1291.

III.—Richard le Waleys, son and heir of (II.) (suit of 1321); also called "Richard le Juvene" of the Cross, 1292 (V.C.H. iii. 255, *n.*4).

IV.—Robert of the Cross of Lathom junior, son of (III.) plaintiff in 1321 in a caim to land at Lathom of which his greatgrandfather, Robert le Waleys, was seised *temp.* Henry III. (V.C.H. iii. 255, *n.*6).

V.—Robert, son of Robert of the Cross of Lathom, living in 1334 and defendant with his wife Isolda in a Wigan suit (V.C.H. iii. 255, *n.*7). The further descent in this line cannot be made out.

PEDIGREE No. 2.

I.—Adam de Cruce, or del Crosse, of Wigan, living 1277 and 1292 (V.C.H. iv. 75, *n.*98; iii. 255, *n.*7); perhaps identical with Adam brother of Robert of the Cross of Lathom (see Pedigree No. 1). Issue:—

1.—*William del Crosse* (II.), of whom below.

2.—*John de Cruce*, of Wigan, living 1295 and 1329 (V.C.H. iv. 75; C.D. *passim*); perhaps husband of Margery wife of "John de la Croyz of Lathom," 1292 (*Lancs. Final Concords*, i. 72); Issue:—

(i)—*Thurstan de Cruce*, of Wigan, living 1324-67; marr. Emma (V.C.H. iv. 75; C.D. 36, 37); issue:—

(*a*)—*Hugh del Crosse*, of Wigan, living 1370 and 1392 (V.C.H. iv. 75, *n.*101); Mayor of Wigan 1386 (C.D. 80); marr. Katherine, widow of (1) John Crosse (IV.) and (2) William son of Adam de Liverpool; (for her see below). She had issue by Hugh, possibly Richard

(V.), and also Henry (perhaps only son), and Imayne, both living 1395 (V.C.H. iv. 75, *n.*101). The latter probably marr. John Fox of Burton in Wirral as his son, Richard Fox, calls Richard del Crosse (V.) his "uncle" (T. 2840). Hugh died *circa* 1392.

(*b*)—*William* } living 1395 (V.C.H. iv.
(*c*)—*Gilbert* } 75, *n.*101).

(ii)—*William*, living 1324 (C.D. 36; V.C.H. iv. 75).

(i)—*Matilda* (or *Maud*), marr. Henry Banastre (of Walton?) (C.D. 36).

1.—*Margery*, (C.D. 36), perhaps Margery sister of John atte Crosse and widow in 1331 of Roger de Wigan, (son of William son of Hugh de Wigan) (V.C.H. iv. 74, *n.*89; C.D. 14*, 36).

2.—*Ellen*, marr. Alan the fuller, son of Walter the fuller, of Wigan, who occurs with his brothers John and William 1299-1323 (V.C.H. iv. 76, C.D. 14 etc.).

II.—William del Crosse, the "walker" (or fuller), of Wigan (V.C.H. iv. 76); called William Crosse son and heir of Almeric (? for Adam) Crosse in *Visitation* Co. Lancs. 1567; had land in Ormskirk (V.C.H. iv. 76, *n.*102); married Emma daughter of Thomas de Ince. She a widow in 1316 (*ibid*). Issue:—

1.—*Almoric*, or *Aymory*, the walker of Wigan, (III.), of whom below.

III.—Almoric, or Aymory, the walker, of Wigan, living 1309 and 1345, married Agnes ..... ; she was a widow in 1359 (V.C.H. iv. *n.*102). He is called Almeric

Crosse son and heir of William Crosse in *Visitation* 1567. Issue :—

1.—*John Crosse* (IV.), of whom below.

2.—*William*, the walker, of Wigan, living 1347 and 1369; married Isobel..... and had a son Aymory the walker of Wigan (V.C.H. iv. 76), who was living 1380 and 1417 and married Alice daughter of Adam the loriner of Wigan (C.D.80), and had a son Henry.

3.—*Henry*, living 1369 (V.C.H. iv. 76), and had a son Richard Aymary who is mentioned in 1423 as "cousin" of Richard del Crosse (*ibid. n.*102).

4.—*Thurstan*, living 1369 (*ibid*).

IV.—John Crosse, *alias* Amoryson, son of Almoric, son of William, son of Adam; of Wigan and Liverpool; living 1331-1369; called John Crosse of Liverpool in *Visitation* 1567; purchased land in Liverpool from Adam son of Richard de Liverpool *circa* 1347 (V.C.H. iv. 76, *n.*102); Mayor or deputy-mayor of Liverpool 1368 (*Trans.* Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Ches. liv. 124); died 1369 (C.D. 65, 66); he married, about 1366 (C.D. 56), Katherine daughter of Adam son of Matthew de Kenyon, and had issue as below; she married, secondly, *circa* 1371-4, William son of Adam de Liverpool, who died in 1383 and by whom she had issue (*Trans.* Hist. Soc. Lancs. & Ches. lv. 114). She married, thirdly, Hugh del Crosse of Wigan, (see above), and, fourthly, Thos. del Hough (Thornton Hough in Wirral), who died in 1409. A son John del Hough, "brother of Richard del Crosse and of John de Liverpool," is mentioned (T.2301). Thos.

del Hough had a former wife also called Katherine (Ormerod's *Cheshire* ii. 549, V.C.H. iv. 76, *n.*101). Katherine (his second wife) was living in 1417 (C.D.126), and is given a first husband William de Houghton in *Visit.* Co. Lancs. 1567, probably an error. The following are mentioned in 1369 as sons of John "Almoricson" and Katherine, his widow, in an agreement to give Adam de Kenyon custody of the children's goods (C.D. 66). :—

(1).—*Richard.* Unless Katherine had two sons each called Richard by her first and third husbands (who were both Crosses), this Richard was the successor (V.) (see V.C.H. iv. 76, *n.*102).

(2).—*Nicholas.*

(3).—*Thurstan.*

V.—Richard del Crosse, of Wigan, Liverpool and Chorley; son of Katherine (C.D. 113, 125, T. 2679), but by which husband is not certain (see above and V.C.H. iv. 76, *n.*102); called son and heir of John Crosse of Liverpool and Katherine in the *Visitation* 1567, and son of John son of Almoric in a MS. pedigree (M.D. 365); living? 1369–1442; Mayor of Liverpool 1409–10 (T.2592, 2700); purchased lands in Liverpool and settled there; also bought the Eaves Hall (Crosse Hall) property at Healey in Chorley 1418-20 (V.C.H. vi. 40); married Margaret....., she living 1437 (C.D. 138). Issue :—

(1).—*John Crosse* (VI.), of whom below.

(2).—Perhaps *Edmund Crosse*; living 1450 and 1472, witness in 1461 and 1471 to sales of land in Liverpool to John Crosse of Liverpool (T. 2232, 2270); Royal

bailiff, approver and lessee of the lordship of Liverpool (*Hist. Mun. Gov. Liverpool,* 316 etc.); Mayor 1469-70 (*Trans.* Hist. Soc. liv. 130). This Edmund may, however, have been of a Rivington family. Perhaps Henry Crosse of Wavertree, gent., lessee of the lordship of Liverpool 1475 etc. (*Hist. Mun. Gov. Liverpool,* 324 etc.), was a son of Edmund.

VI.—John Crosse, of Wigan, Liverpool and Chorley, son and heir of (V.); Mayor of Liverpool 1459 and 1476 (*Trans.* Hist. Soc. liv. 130; *Cal.* Moore Deeds No. 194); Commissioner of Peace 1 Feb. 1485-6, and 26 March, 1489 (Duchy of Lanc. Pat. Roll). In 1442 it was proposed that he should marry Alison daughter of William Norreys (T. 2281); married, first, Joan daughter of Ric. Calcott of the City of Chester, gentleman; dispensation 26th July, 1449 from Archbishop of York, citing a dispensation of Pope Nicholas V., they being twice related in the 4th degree (Reg. Kempe 137 a.b., in *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc.), iii. 331); married, secondly, Agnes, Annis, Alice or Avis [? Botyll], "late wife" (C.D. 165, 167); she was married again before 1526 to Humphrey Gerard and they then released her dower lands to "Master John Crosse, clerk" (T. 2371). Will of John Crosse of Liverpool dated 20th August, 1502; to be buried in the chancel of St. Nicholas of Liverpool before the image of the Blessed Mary; to Richard Crosse my son and heir, my best gown and the big brass pot that was his mother's; to Roger *his* son, my second best gown; to my son William Crosse, goods in my workshop

(*opella*), Richard my heir to assign to him the house and garden in Ley Dale Street in which Henry Plumbe dwells and my two workshops (with the chambers), next the Cross, for life (see C.D. 164); to my wife Agnes and my son John the chaplain, 12 silver spoons equally between them; John Crosse, son of Richard my heir, to have the farm of the tenement I have in the lordship of Walton from Wm. Lightwode for 4 years, on condition he be willing to take holy orders, also 20s, a tunic and gown and a pair of "ledrybuskynnus"; what I heretofore had and bought of Margaret Tailor to be expended for maintenance of a priest to celebrate before the image of the Blessed Mary in the chapel of Liverpool, except the workshop which I have given to the maintenance of a chaplain celebrating in the chapel of St. Mary de Key; to Wm. Bolton, vicar of Walton, a silver bowl; to Ellen Cross my sewing maid 20s.; to James Thomasson 10s. and the tenement in which Henry Coke dwells or that in which the widow of Edmund Thorpe dwells, for life, he to take my sewing maid Joan Longbakke to wife; to John Crouke, one cow; to the church of St. Mary of Walton 26s. 8d.; to the church of Sefton 20s. out of money in hands of the rector; all other goods to my son John the chaplain, my wife Agnes and Wm. Bolton chaplain, to dispose for my soul; witnessed by Thomas Eyvis, Mayor of Liverpool, Thomas Harebrowne, William Harebrowne, gent., John Flecher, John Woolfall, Richard Fletewode, chaplain; proved 23rd Sept., 1502 by the executor (John Crosse)

(P.C.C. 11 Blamyr). Issue (probably all by first wife) :—

(1)—*Richard Crosse* (VII.) , of whom below.

(2)—*William Crosse,* mercer, of Liverpool and London ; married Alice..... ; his will dated 18th December, 1502 ; to be buried in the chapel of St. Nicholas of Lyverpoll ; all stuff in shop in Lyverpoll to son John and daughter Elizabeth, my brother Sir John Crosse priest to have the guiding thereof to their behoof; to wife Alice stuff and goods in London and lease of the " s(c)halding house " for 10 years on condition she pay my debts ; the overplus of the lease to descend to my said son and daughter ; to Sir John Flecchcr 5s. ; 20s. to the building of a house that shall be made to the behoof of a priest to sing afore Our Lady of the Kye in Lyverpolle ; executors wife and son ; my brother, Sir John Crosse, to be overseer ; witnessed by John Crosse, priest, Sir John Flecchcr, priest, Elizabeth Themberton (Pemberton ?) ; proved 1st March, 1502-3 by relict and executrix, with power reserved etc. (P.C.C. 22 Blamyr). Issue :—

1.—John.
2.—Elizabeth.

} probably both died without issue as the lease of the scalding house in London seems to have passed to their uncle John.

(3)—*John Crosse,* founder of the grammar School at Liverpool and of the chantry of St. Katherine in the chapel there ; called " my son John the chaplain " (will of father 1502), " my brother Sir John Crosse priest " (will of brother William 1502) ;

executor of father's will; early benefices not known; appointed 16 Sept., 1489, by the Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand (the regular patron), to the rectory of St. Nicholas ad Macellas (in the Flesh Shambles), London, which he held till his death in 1517 (Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecc. Par. Londinense*, 1893, p. 352); on 8th Aug., 1493, as Master John Crosse, M.A. (probably of Oxford), priest, he was instituted personally, at Burgh St. Peter, to a mediety of the parish church of (All Saints) Turvey, Beds., patron the prior and convent of St. Neots (Lincoln Epis. Reg. xxii., 271, *d.*). Said to have been also one of the two chantry priests at Turvey founded by the will dated 1504 of Sir John Mordaunt of Turvey, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lanc. 1504 (Harvey, *History of Hundred of Willey*, 198; Nicolas, *Test. Vetusta*, ii. 461); executor and residuary legatee of the will dated 21st November 1478 of Hugh Botyll, perpetual vicar of the prebendal church of Pottern (or Porton), Co. Wilts. (Harl. MS. 2042, 162). On 10th April 1507 as rector of St. Nicholas etc., but not of Turvey, he enfeoffed, for the fulfilment of his last will, John Fleccher chaplain, John son of Richard Crosse, Thomas son of George Raynford, William Moore, Evan Haghton, Roger Fazakerley and William Lake, with all his lands, etc. in Lyrpole or Co. Lancs., also those in Fazakerley held by feoffment of his "relation" Hugh Botehyll, clerk, and the premises there bought from William Lightwood (C.D. 170); a similar deed dated 6 Henry VIII. (1514-15)

confirms these lands to the same feoffees except Fletcher; John Crosse, son of Richard, being there called rector of Mickleham, Thomas Raynford being called of Turvey chaplain, and Hugh Botill being entitled *B.*(*accalarius*) *U.*(*triusque*) *J.*(*uris*) (Duchy of Lanc. Dep. 66). On 5th February, 1509-10, he received the king's general pardon[1] as John Crosse clerk, *alias* John Crosse of London parson of the parish church of St. Nicholas ad Macellas, *alias* John Crosse parson of the parish church of Turvey, *alias* John Crosse late of Lyverpull clerk, executor of the will of John Crosse late of Lyverpull gentleman, *alias* John Crosse clerk, executor of the will of Master Hugh Botyll late vicar of "Portorn" Co. Wilts (*Pat. Roll. Suppl.* 57, *m.*25, formerly Pardon Roll 1 Henry VIII. Part II); he died between 4th June and 3rd July 1517 (when a successor was instituted to Turvey), having made two wills.

By his first will, dated 10th May, 1515, as parson of St. Nicholas, etc. (but not of Turvey), (printed in full *Liverpool Vestry Books*, ed. Peet, i. 450), he left the lands in Liverpool which he had by deed of gift of "Sir" Hugh Botill, son and heir of Hugh Botill of Liverpool, and lands bought from William Lightwood in Fazakerley, etc., upon the trusts of the deed of feoffment (of 1507 etc.), and provided for the establishment of a chantry priest before the altar of St. Katherine in the Chapel of Liverpool, to pray for the souls of John Crosse, Avice Crosse, Hugh Botyll and

[1] We owe this reference to Professor J. A. Twemlow of the University of Liverpool.

their friends, and, after his death, for that of the founder etc.; the will gave the appointment of new trustees of the chantry foundation to the Mayor of Liverpool and testator's brother Richard Crosse, etc., and provided that the priest should keep "gramer scole" and take fees except from children named Crosse and those who were poor; testator further gave to the Mayor and burgesses of Liverpool "the new-called Our Ladie House" to keep their courts etc., the cellar under it to provide help for the chantry priest of Our Lady of the Chapel of the Key, he to give 5s. a year out of the income to the chantry priest of St. Katherine etc.; witnessed by Humphrey Crosse priest, John Ogle, Thomas Eccleston, Laurence Ireland and John "Wrythtyntone." Place and date of probate unknown and possibly never proved, though acted upon in 1527 and 1554 as a trust by the Chancery Courts (Duchy of Lanc. Pleadings iv. C2 (1527), Depositions vol. 66, M3 *a*—*r*).

The second will, as parson of Tyrvey, is date 4th June 1517; my body to be buried in the church of All Saints in Tyrvey in the high chancel; to my sister Mary my best bed and a violet gown; to my sister Elizabeth a bed in London; to Sir Thomas Raynesford priest a bed in Tyrvey with what books be'th necessary for him to occupy; to my cousin Elizabeth Pemberton a bed and my russet gown furred with black lamb; to John Copyn a bed with half the brass pots and old pewter vessels in Tyrvey to the use of Margaret his wife and her children, and both my

carts and two carthouses, two kine, ten sheep and ten lambs; my cousin [? nephew] John Sutton to have the lease of the Scalding house in St. Nicholas Shambles in London, during the years, to find him to school if he will be a priest, or else it be disposed to find some other to the school at the mind of my cousin [nephew] John Crosse; to my cousin [nephew] James Crosse the great bed and hangings in the parlour in London; my farm stock to George Slake, Richard Barbor, John Bulloke, Thomas Waren; to the Abbey of Lavenden [Bucks.] twelve sheep and twelve lambs towards the building of the cloister; to my cousin [? nephew] Richard Crosse's wife a gown furred with white; to Sir John Dorff 40s. in remittance of part of his debt; to Maister Pate one book; to my cousin [? nephew] Richard, "querester" at Whitingdon College (see below) 40s.; all my books of parchment to be equally divided betwixt Mawdelyn College and the King's College of Brasynnose in Oxford; the parson that shall succeed me to have the house I dwell in, with the lead and the brewing vats for dilapidation; to the church of St. Nicholas in Lyverpole, four books, two of them *Distructorium Viciorium*[1] and the other the *Constitutions* and *Randowlff*; to my cousin [nephew] John Crosse clerk a bed, a gown and the use of all my books unto such time that my cousin [? nephew] John Sutton be able to occupy them, or else to be disposed

[1] A "Summa que Destructorium Viciorum appellatur . . . cujusdam fabri lignarii filio . . . anno 1429 collecta" was printed at Cologne, 1480 and 1485, and at Nuremburg, 1496 and later (Cat. Brit. Mus.). There is now no trace of this or the other books at St. Nicholas' Church.

for the health of my soul; all the rest of my goods to my said cousin John Crosse, and my sister Mary, to be disposed as they perceive my mind, whom I constitute my executors, and Master John Mordaunt esq. supervisor; witnesses, Maister John Mordaunt, esquier, Sir Thomas Raynforth, curett of the parish, and Humphrey Hardys; proved 6th July 1517 by the executors (P.C.C. 34 Holder).

(4)—Perhaps *Edmund Crosse*, who married a daughter of Sir William Norreys of Speke (M.S. ped. M.D.365), and, with his wife and "children" was commemorated in a stained glass window in the Norreys Chapel at Childwall Church, Co. Lancs. (*Trans.* Hist Soc., lxv., 99). Issue (*inter alios*):—

1.—Laurence.
2.—William. } (MS. ped. *loc. cit.*)

(1)—*Mary*, married in 1486 John son of Gilbert Sutton of Scarisbrick (Scarisbrick Deed 178), and had issue (V.C.H., iii. 273).

(2)—*Margaret*, married *circa* 1470 Edmund son of Richard Gillibrand of Lathom (C.D. 147).

VII.—Richard Crosse, of Walton on the Hill, Liverpool and Chorley, son and heir of (VI.); living in 1515 (C.D. 175 etc.); married, first, Elizabeth daughter and co-heir of Roger Walton of Walton-on-the-Hill and Fazakerley, Co. Lancs., armiger, the estates being partitioned 4th July 1494 (*Chorley Survey* (Rec. Soc. Lancs. & Cheshire), 37); issue seven children; married, secondly, Elizabeth daughter of Edmund Winstanley of Winstanley, Co. Lancs., marriage

agreement 1493 (T. 2250). Issue six (?) children. Issue of first marriage :—

1.—*Roger* (VIII.), of whom below.
2.—*John* (IX), of whom below.
3.—*Robert, ob. s. p.*
4.—*Richard,* probably " my cousin [nephew] Richard, querester [chorister] at Whitingdon College " [Whittington's College in the Ch. of St. Michael Paternoster, Cannon Street, London] will of John Crosse, rector of Turvey, 1517) ; *ob. s. p.*
5.—*William,* married *circa* 1522 Joan daughter of Henry Banastre (T. 2887). She held Crosse Hall, Liverpool, for life (T. 2488), and was alive in 1548 (will of Richard Banastre of Bank in *Lancs. & Ches. Wills* (Chet. Soc.), i. 200). He died s.p. before 30th April 1532 (will of IX.), and probably before December 1526 (*Liverpool Town Bks.* ed. Twemlow i. 434).

1.—*Blanche,* married in 1515 to Roger Breres, yeoman and linendraper, of Chorley (C.D. 175, 179) ; became joint heiress of the Walton and Fazakerley property of her mother and had issue.
2.—*Margaret,* married George Garston of Walton (C.D. 179) ; joint heiress with her sister Blanche.

Issue of second marriage of Richard Crosse (VII.) :—

1.—*James* (X), of whom below.
2.—*Edmund,* second in remainder after his brother James, and executor of will 1532 of half-brother John (IX) ; " servant to John Lord Mordaunt " (MS. ped. M.D. 365).
3.—Perhaps *Humphrey* (MS. ped. M.D. 365). A Humphrey Crosse, priest, was a witness in 1515 to the will of John Crosse rector

of St. Nicholas etc., a defendant in a Liverpool chantry suit of 1527, and mentioned in 1530 (deed of rector of Moulsoe below), also a chantry priest of St. Katherine's altar in St. Nicholas', Liverpool, 1533 (*Valor Ecc.* v. 221), also master of the Grammar School and aged 50 in 1548 (Gregson's *Fragments* and *Liverpool Town Books*, i. 140, 532). All these are perhaps not identical.

4.—*George* (MS. ped.).

1.—*Katherine*, mentioned in will of half-brother John (IX.); married (1) John Warren of St. Albans, (2) Edward Taylor of Hadley, Co. Middlesex, son of Edward Taylor of same and Eleanor his wife, daughter of Edward Cheeseman, "cofferer to Henry 8" (*Middlesex Peds.*, Harl. Soc.).

2.—*Elizabeth* (MS. ped.).

VIII.—Roger Crosse, of Walton, Liverpool, Wigan and Chorley; eldest son and heir of (VII.) (C.D. 171, 174 etc.); married Letitia daughter of Thomas Norreys of West Derby, (according to *Foster*) which marriage was dissolved 12th October 1519 by the official of Bishop of Chester, for want of consent, the parents having compulsorily espoused them when children (C.D. 176); *Burke* states that Letitia afterwards married Thos. Norreys of Speke; but she may have been daughter of Richard Norreys, married, secondly, Humphrey Ball of Chester (*Visitation of Cheshire* 1613, 15). Roger Crosse died 22nd April 1522 *s.p.*; *inq. p.m.* at Preston, 11th August;[1] he was seised of 56 messuages and 1215 acres of various kinds of land, etc., as

[1] The year is now illegible.

follows :—Walton 12 messuages, 450 acres, held of the King in socage, rent 20s. ; Liverpool 12 messuages, 150 acres, a windmill, of the Duke of Lancs. in free burgage, rent 23s. 10d. ; (West) Derby 2 messuages 42 acres, of the King by custom of manor and court roll, rent 11s. 8d. ; Rainhill 1 messuage 16 acres, of Richard Lancaster esq. in socage, rent 4½d. ; Much Woolton 2 messuages 22 acres, of St. John of Jerusalem in socage, 12d. rent ; Ditton 2 messuages 36 acres, of William Dichefield in socage, rent 4d. ; Upholland 17 acres, of Edward Earl of Derby by custom and court roll, rent 17s. ; Golborn 1 messuage 28 acres,of Thomas Langton and Henry Keighley, esqs., in socage, rent 3s. 8d. ; Wigan 8 burgages 44 acres, of rector of Wigan in free burgage, rent 19s. 2d. ; Adlington 2 messuages 54 acres, of the Lords of Leylandshire in socage, rent 8½d. ; Heath Chernock 1 messuage 30 acres, of St. John of Jerusalem, in socage, rent 12d. ; Coppull 3 messuages 66 acres, of Richard Worthington of Worthington, in socage, rent 4s. ; Chorley 10 messuages 260 acres, of the Lords of Leylandshire, rent 26s. 8d. ; and of St. John of Jerusalem, rent 4d. ; John Crosse, clerk, is his brother and heir and was 40 years and more at date of *inq.* It also appears that on 12th September 1522 the said John granted, by charter, to Nicholas Banastre and Henry Banastre jun., gents., Crosse Hall in Lyverpole, etc., to Joan daughter of Henry Banastre for life, etc., then to William Crosse brother and heir [apparent] of said John; Alexander Banastre and Thomas Banastre, chaplain, being appointed attorneys to deliver seisin ; said Joan still was living.

Also that by another charter 19th February 1524-5 John Crosse (IX), rector of Mulsho, Bucks, confirmed to said William and Joan for her life other lands in Liverpool, etc. (*Duchy of Lanc. Inq. p.m.* vi. 18).

IX.—John Crosse; "to take Holy Orders" (will of grandfather 1502); a chaplain 1509 (C.D. 171); aged 40 and more at *inq. p.m.* of brother Roger, to whose Lancashire estates he became heir; probably John Crosse of Lincoln College, Oxford, B.A. 18th June 1511, M.A. 27th June 1514; presented to numerous benefices; instituted 31st October 1513 (patron John Mordaunt of Turvey) to the rectory of Mickleham, Surrey (Manning and Bray, *Surrey* ii. 663); instituted 15th November 1518 (by the same patron on grant from Goring Priory) to the rectory of Moulsoe, Bucks. (Lincoln Epis. Reg. xxv. 53), also on 22nd May 1525 by the same (then Sir John Mordaunt Kt.), to the rectory of White Roding, Essex, which he held till his death (Newcourt, *Repertorium* (1710) ii. 500); also on 3rd June, 1530, by the same to the vicarage of West Horndon, Essex, which he soon resigned, a successor being appointed 24th August 1530 (*ibid.* 342); resigned Moulsoe, not "to a kinsman" as thought by Lipscomb (*Bucks.* iv. 254) but probably *pro forma*, on presentation to West Horndon. He appears to have been re-instituted to Moulsoe "on resignation," personally at Woburn, 18th June 1530, patron Sir John Mordaunt (Lincoln Ep. Reg. xxvii. 213); on 12th October 1530, as rector of Moulsoe, he made a feoffment to Sir Ewin Quykk, clerk, George Goldwell and William Dowse, upon the trusts of his last will,

of all lands in Co. Lancs. formerly held by John Crosse his grandfather and inherited from his brother Roger (except lands in Coppull, etc., with which he enfeoffed John Mordaunt jun. and Edmund Feteplace esquires, Roger Hoggeson and Henry Holywell by charter 24th June 1528), Humphrey Crosse clerk and Richard Dowse being appointed to deliver seisin (C.D. 178) ; died between 30th April and 10th September 1532 when a successor was appointed to White Roding (Newcourt, *Repertorium* ii. 500) and on 20th June 1533 to Moulsoe, both on his death (Lincoln Epis. Reg. xxvii. 217 *d*). Will, as rector of Moulsoe, dated 30th April 1532 ; to be buried where I die ; to Master Sterky my gown of medley furred with black lamb, and to John Hoggeson, clerk, my best short gown with two tippets of same cloth ; to the Royal College of Oxford called Brasenose[1], four books of the Bible with " Lira ", six books of Antoninus (three called " Cronicles " and three " Summa") and a book called " St. Augustine on the City of God " ; residue of goods to [half] brother Edmund Crosse, he to pay £5 to Katherine Crosse my sister to her marriage, at the discretion of Sir John Mordaunt, Kt., Lord Mordaunt ; all lands in Wigan, Lyverpole and Walton which descended to me on death of my father to my [half] brother James Crosse and to Edmund Crosse in tail male successively with contingent remainders etc. to Blanche Brears, Margaret Garston and said James ; lands in

[1] The College has two volumes of " The Bible with Lira," three parts (Nos. 2, 3, 4) of the *Summa*, dated 1475 (inscribed ' *ex dono* ' the founder Bp. Smith of Lincoln), and " St. Augustine," etc., 1488 (inscribed *ex dono* John Haster, a fellow). This will throws doubt on these ascriptions.

Coppull, Heath Chernock, Heley and Chorley and a messuage called " le Crossehall " and all manors etc. to the same belonging, with the moiety of a water mill, to Edmund for life, then to Blanche and Margaret in tail, James in tail, and heirs male of Edmund ; if Blanche and Margaret disturb James in the enjoyment of the lands at Walton which Joan Crosse widow of my brother William Crosse enjoys of my grant for life, then after her death the lands in Heley and Chorley with Crossehall etc. to remain, after death of Edmund, to James ; rest of lands in Co. Lancs. to Blanche and Margaret in tail, except a messuage in Golborn in par. of Wynwick to servant William Dowse for life ; executors Robert Lattymer gent. and brother Edmund ; overseer " Lord " Mordaunt ; witnessed by Sir John Mordaunt Kt. " Lord " Mordaunt, John Mordaunt esq., John Browne esq., Edmund Fetiplace esq., Eugene Quike chaplain, Proved 27th February 1532-3 by Edmund Crosse (P.C.C. 24 Thrower).

X.—James Crosse, goldsmith and citizen of London (C.D. 181, 187, etc.) ; heir to the Lancashire estates of his half-brother John (IX) (C.D. 179 etc.) ; married Margaret daughter of.....Cotes, according to *Visitation* 1567, but daughter of Thomas Trotter according to MS. ped. (M.D. 365). He died 24th Jan. " last past " 4/5 Philip & Mary ; his *inq. p.m.* at Wigan, 4/5 Ph. & M. (1557-8), shows he mortgaged the estates (being the same as those held by Roger Crosse), to John Fleetwood, esq. for £60 and that on 20th November, 1538 they were assigned by Fleetwood, James Crosse and his

wife Margaret, to Roger Ashawe esq. and Lawrence Ashawe his brother on the uses of a deed of 10th November 1538 between Roger Ashawe and James Crosse; John son and heir of James Crosse having married Alice daughter of Roger Ashawe; remainders are mentioned to Thomas and Christopher brothers of John Crosse and to the heirs of Richard Crosse, great-grandfather of James; Margaret the wife and Roger Ashawe were then dead; John Crosse was his son and heir, aged 33 at date of *inq.* (*Duchy of Lanc. Inq. p.m.* x. 20). Issue:—

1.—*John* (XI.), of whom below.

2.—*Thomas* (*Visit.* 1567), (ancester of Crosse of Ledsham Co. Chester according to Foster, but this has not been proved.

3.—*Christopher* (*Visit.* 1567), mentioned as a Spanish merchant 1561 and 1564 (C.D. 196 and *Liverpool Town Books* i. 179).

1.—*Elizabeth*, married George Bloodworth (*Visit.* 1567).

XI.—John Crosse, of Crosse Hall in Chorley, Healey and Crosse Hall in Liverpool, son and heir of (X); aged 33 at *Inq. p.m.* of father; Mayor of Liverpool 1565 and 1572, deputy-searcher of Liverpool Customs 1563-4, Mayor-elect 1563, deputy-mayor 1568, etc. (*Liverpool Town Books*, i. 615—index); married thrice, first, to Alice daughter of Roger Ashawe of the Hall of the Hill in Heath Charnock, Co. Lancs., contract for marriage 11th October 1533 (C.D. 181, 184, 185); she was buried at Chorley 26th February, 1557-8; issue six children; married, secondly, Alice daughter of Ralph Assheton of Great Lever, Co. Lancs. (*Visitn.* 1567); issue a daughter;

married, thirdly, Ann daughter of Robert Langton of The Lowe in Hindley, Co. Lancs. (*Visitation*). John Crosse died in July 1575; will dated 24th July 17 Elizabeth; to be buried in the chapel of Lyverpole usually called the chapel of Saynt Nicholas; mentions wife, daughter Bridgett (£100), sons Richard, Robert, William, Edmond and John; and Jane Langton; executors Peter Stanley of Bickerstaffe, Ralph Assheton of Lever, Thomas Ashaw of the Hill, Edward Stanley of Pou(l)ton; witnesses, John Maynwaring, William Secum, Richard Andleser, Roger ....., proved C. C. Chester 1st August 1575 by first three executors.

Issue of first marriage :—

1.—*John* (XII.), of whom below.
2.—*Richard.*
3.—*Robert.*
4.—*William.*
5.—*Edmund*, bapt. 22nd July 1557 at Chorley.
1.—*Ann*, married Laurence Ireland of Lydiate, Co. Lancs. (*Visitn.* 1567).

Issue of second marriage :—

1.—*Bridget*, married Laurence Brownlow (MS. ped. M.D. 365).

XII.—John Crosse, of Crosse Hall in Chorley and Crosse Hall in Liverpool, son and heir of (XI.); Freeman of Liverpool 23rd July 1568, bailiff 1569, mayor 1581-2; married Alice daughter of John Moore of Bankhall, Co. Lancs., marriage covenant 7th August 1566 (C. D. 224, M.D. 255). She was alive in 1617 (will of son Richard). The will of John Crosse, dated 9th November 1596, mentions my wife "Alis," children, William, Mary, Eleanor and Elizabeth Chorley; to son and

heir Richard my gilt salte and cuppe, my grey mare and her colt; to daughter Elizabeth "th'one of my little gilt bowles"; to Alice *her* daughter an incalf heifer (T. 2251). Place and date of probate unknown. He was alive in 1598 (*inq. p.m.* of XIV.) and probably later. The name "John Crosse" appears as one of the 79 Lancashire gentry who signed a loyal address to James I. at Wigan on 31st March 1603 (*Lancs. Lieutenancy* (Chet. Soc.) ii. 245). He was probably the John Crosse buried at Chorley 11th September 1612. The *inq. p.m.* of his grandson, (XIV.), after reciting the seisin of the grandfather of the various estates (including 330 acres in Woodchurch and Knoctorum,[1] Co. Chester, held of the manor of East Greenwich), states that by fine of 12th September 1598 he gave them to Henry Byrom, Philip Langton, William Moore and Laurence Browne [? Brownlow] to fulfil a settlement of 20th September 1596 between (1) himself and his son and heir Richard and (2) Anne Ireland widow of George Ireland of Hutt. Issue:—

1.—*Richard* (XIII.), of whom below.

2.—*William.*

1.—*Elizabeth,* married William Chorley of Chorley, Co. Lancs. (*Visitns.* 1567 and 1664, C.D. 189, 190).

2.—*Mary.*

3.—*Eleanor.*

XIII.—Richard Crosse, of Liverpool and Chorley; son and heir of (XII.); Freeman of Liverpool 16th May 1574; married Anne daughter of Robert Langton of The Lowe, Co. Lancs. (*Visitns.* 1567, 1664); died at Liver-

[1] For sales by the Crosses of this property, see *Cheshire Sheaf,* August 1921.

pool 27th March 1619; *Inq. p.m.* 7th September, 1619 (*Lancs. Inq.* (Rec. Soc.) ii. 135 and another *inq.* 27th September 1625, Duchy of Lanc. *Inq. p.m.* xxv. 3); held upwards of 600 acres in Liverpool, Walton, Fazakerley, West Derby, Coppull, Chorley, Healey and Kirkdale in Co. Lancs., Woodchurch and Knoctorum, Co. Chester; heir son John aged 19 years, 1 month, 3 days. Will dated 20th August 1617; to be buried in the chappell of Liv'poole where formerlye my auncestors have been buryed; £50 to be bestowed upon my funeral (£10 to poor of Walton, £10 to poor of Lyverpoole, £30 on the blacks and mouldmeats and other necessaries); £300 to son Robert now an apprentice in London; £360 to son William; to brother William Crosse my ambling mare; to my mother a best feather bed, etc.; legacies to my cozen Richard Chorley, my cozen Alice Chorley, my cozen Laurence Brownlowe, my aunt Brownlowe, Henry Houle, John Winstanley, my cozen Judith More (£5 at her marriage), Richard Lunt my hoste, Mr. Richard More; money owed by Mr. John Poole, Nicholas James and Tyrer, John Eccleston, John Banks, Richard Lunt, Mr. More's tenant; all the rest to John Crosse, son and heir apparent; executors John Harrington of Huyton Hey and James Anderton of Cleaton, Co. Lancs., the younger, esq.; overseers Sir Richard Molineux Kt. and Bt., and Sir Gilbert Ireland Kt., my best beloved friends. Debts due to Hugh Stursacres, Mr. Hallowes of Manchester (for 4 yards of Kersey prooffe at 6s. 7d.); I remember not anie more but if any ells doe demand anye, on due prooffe pay it without suyte, for I have hated suyte all

my lyeftime and wold not heare of it after my deathe ; a bond due to Ralph Eccleston and money owed by his brother Richard Eccleston for ground in the Speake fields ; bonds in my name of ould Mr. Starkey of Stretton, but the truth is the money is his daughter Timothye's (*sic*), but publish not this without her consent lest she lose her money to her father ; Richard Eccleston my tenant. [Note on will] :—" Upon Monday in Easter weeke being the 29th of March 1619 this will was found in the chiste of the said Richard Crosse at Walton in his chamber there amongst his bills and bonds of debt & in the same place where the gould & silver & rings were w'ch wee found, and the other syde of this sheete of pap. was cut the one half awaye as nowe it is, and this will wee foure found as aforesaid being putt in trust to look for it. [sd.] W. Norres, Alex Molineux, Robt. Blundell, Thomas Molineux." Proved C. C. Chester 8th August 1619 by John Harrington, power reserved to James Cleyton (*sic*), of Cleyton. Inventory 5th April 1619 by Oliver Fairhurst, John Dicconson, Robt. Flecher and Richard Lunte, £1615 12s. 4d., six yoake of oxen (£64) barley, malte, oats, beanes, pease, rye, wheat, husbandry geare, books (£5), bills, bonds, &c. (£1080 4s. 4d.) his backclothes and app'ell £20. Issue :—

1.—*John* (XIV.), of whom below.

2.—*Robert* (will of brother John) ; an apprentice in London 1617 (will of father) ; probably Robert Crosse of Chorley who proved the death of John Crosse (XIV.) in 1640 (*Roy. Comp. Papers* (Rec. Soc.), ii. 96).

3.—*William,* mentioned in wills of father and brother John.

XIV.—John Crosse, of Liverpool and Chorley aged 19 years 1 month 3 days at *inq. p.m.* of father; married, first, Juliana daughter of Henry Banestre of the Bank in Croston, Co. Lancs.; she was buried at Chorley 15th March 1625-6; secondly, about February 1630-1, Frances daughter of Thomas Woolfall of Woolfall, Co. Lancs.; postnuptial settlement of lands in Mellor and Showley 30th October 1640 (*Roy. Comp. Papers* (Rec. Soc.), ii., 95); her will as Frances Crosse of Cunscough (in Melling), Co. Lancs., widow, dated 4th February 1688-9, proved C. C. Chester 15th June 1693 by the executors, "her kinsmen" John Bamber of Aughton, gentleman, and James Hunter of Cunscough, yeoman; she left a gold ring and pix to her daughter-in-law Mistris Crosse, and a gold ring to her nephew, Master Stanley of Moorhall (son of Peter Stanley who married testator's sister Elizabeth). Her arrears of jointure included £125 due from John Crosse esq. and £215 from Thomas Crosse esq. John Crosse died 3rd December 1640 at Toxteth Park and was buried at Liverpool (*Roy. Comp. Papers* ii. 96); will dated 18th October 1637; to be buried in St. Nicholas' Chappell in Liverpoole amongst my ancestors; lands in Lancs. and Cheshire (except certain lands to the use of John Crosse my second son) to executors for 9 years, they paying to my son Richard for his maintenance £30 p.a. and for the preferment in marriage of my daughter Frances; mentions the house I bought of Richard Broster in Liverpool

called the Angell with the horsemill thereto belonging ; my other younger children except John who is preferred ; son Richard under 21, my brother Haggerston [Thomas Haggerston of Haggerston, Northumberland, created Bt. 1642, married Alice sister of Juliana testator's first wife and was of Cuerden Co. Lancs. in 1637] to bring him up, to whom and to my sister [-in-law] I bequeath gold rings ; my cousin Bridget Chorley ; my two brothers Robert and William ; Mr. Robert Harrington, Mr. Roger Briers, John Banks, Ralph Winstanley ; executors John Harrington of Huyton Hey and Richard Chorley of Chorley esq. ; debts to my two sons John and Thomas £400 ; debt due to me from William Crosse of Goosnergh £290 ; my son John in lieu of divers lands sold shall have all my lands in Shouley and Mellor ; proved C. C. Chester 29th January 1640. *Inq. p.m.* at Preston 30th April 1641, recites seisin, etc., of grandfather (see XII.), father Richard and self of the same estates ; also his own seisin of 8 messuages 200 acres in Mellor (held of heirs of Thomas Southworth) and Shouley (tenure unknown), 100 acres in Goosnergh (held of the Duke of Lancs. as $\frac{1}{100}$ knight's fee) ; that on 30th October 1640 he conveyed those in Mellor and Shouley to Thomas Woolfall and Robert Harrington on trusts for his younger son John with remainder to settlor's other sons Thomas and Robert and to his own issue by Frances his wife ; that on 16th February 1630-1 he had granted Crosse Hall in Healey and Chorley etc. to John Harrington of Huyton and Robert Harrington his son and heir in satisfaction of the dower of Frances (whom he was

to marry); that he and his former wife Juliana were seised in her right of a mill and lands in Bretherton, (held of Duke of Lancaster as $\frac{1}{200}$ of a knight's fee), and that they had issue Richard the eldest son and heir, aged 16 years 3 months 3 days at father's death. His wife Frances survives at Woolfall (Duchy of Lanc. *Inq. p.m.* xxix. 7 and C.D. 209). Issue :—

1.—*Richard* (XV.), son of first wife. For him see below.
2.—*John*, second son, of Showley and Mellor Co. Lancs., aged about 17 in 1652 (*Roy. Comp. Papers* ii. 95); and if so could not be a son of first wife.
3.—*Thomas* (will and *inq.* of father).
4.—*Robert* (*inq.* of father).
1.—*Frances* (will of father), daughter of a "former (? first) wife" (*Roy. Comp. Papers*, ii. 98); possibly Frances Crosse of Woolfall, buried at Huyton 22nd August 1666.

XV.—Richard Crosse, of Liverpool and Crosse Hall, Chorley; aged 16 years 3 months and 3 days at *inq. p.m.* of father (C.D. 209); matric. Hart Hall, Oxford, 1st July 1640, aged 14 (*Alum. Oxon.*), married Elizabeth..... (C.D. 211); buried at Chorley 18th March 1658-9. Issue :—

1.—*Richard* (XVI.), of whom below.
2.—*John* (XVII.), of whom below.
3.—*Robert*, bapt. Chorley 19th March 1650-1; entered on Preston Guild Roll 1662.
4.—*Thomas*, bapt. Chorley 12th October 1652; entered on Preston Guild Roll 1662.
5.—*William*, bapt. Chorley 18th June 1654; entered on Preston Guild Roll 1662.

6.—*Alexander*, bapt. Chorley 6th January 1655-6 ; buried there 26th September 1656.
7.—*George*, bapt. Chorley 11th June 1657 ; buried there 9th March 1657-8.
1.—*Juliana*, bapt. Chorley 1st October 1646 ; buried at Garstang 15th March, 1679 ; married, by licence dated 15th October 1664, as of Toft, Co. Chester, the Rev. Robert Ditchfield, B.A., Oxon., Vicar of Garstang ; he buried there 10th July 1677.
2.—*Ann*, bapt. Chorley 2nd December 1649 ; buried there 14th April 1659.
3.—*Jane*, married Ralph Longworth of Upper Rawcliffe in St. Michaels on Wyre, Co. Lancs., a major in Colonel Kirkby's trained band ; he buried at St. Michaels 25th January 1693-4.
4.—A child, buried Chorley 29th March 1645.

XVI.—Richard Crosse, of Crosse Hall, eldest son of (XV.), bapt. Chorley 23rd October 1647, ob. inf. s.p. and buried Chorley 13th September 1661.

XVII.—John Crosse, of Crosse Hall, Liverpool and Crosse Hall, Chorley, second son and ultimate heir of (XV.) ; bapt. Chorley 29th December 1648) at Brasenose College, Oxford 1668 ; outburgess of Preston 1662, 1682 ; Common Councillor of Liverpool 1685 ; married Ann daughter of Rev. Samuel Yate of Middleton Cheney, Northants; postnuptial settlement 10th April 1681 (C.D. 213) ; he was buried at Chorley 7th February 1688-9 as "Captn. John Cross of Cros Hall esqr." will dated 24th January 1688-9 ; personal estate (including part of £500 given to testator by his mother Elizabeth) to sons and daughters Thomas,

John, Dorothy, Ann Joane, Julian and Frances equally; executor brother-in-law Ralph Longworth esq.; witnessed by Pe. Standish, Benjamin Edmundson [curate of Chorley 1684-1713], G. Woosey; armorial seal of three (lions'?) heads erased, impaling Crosse; proved C. C. Chester 28th February 1688-9 by James Browne of Chorley, shoemaker, for the creditors, R. Longworth renouncing; a second grant 26th December 1695 to John Smith of Chorley, a creditor. Issue :—

1.—*Thomas* (XVIII.), of whom below.
2.—*John*, bapt. Chorley 10th August 1676; of Heath Charnock; administration C. C. Chester, 5th June 1711 to his sister Juliana Cross of Sephton, spinster.
3.—*Richard*, buried 30th November 1681 at Chorley.
1.—*Dorothy*, bapt. Chorley 27th November 1673; married Edward Farnworth, probably of Euxton, Co. Lancs.; she buried at Leyland 18th February 1720.
2.—*Ann*, bapt. Chorley 14th January 1674-5 (married Rev. William Loftus, according to *Foster*).
3.—*Joanna*, married John France of Little Eccleston Hall; he buried at Kirkham 27th December 1762; she buried there 5th September 1705, M.I. (*Hist. of Kirkham* (Cheth. Soc.), 195; *Hist. of St. Michaels on Wyre* (Cheth. Soc.) 95/6.)
4.—*Juliana*, see brother John.
5.—*Frances*.
6.—*Elizabeth*, buried Chorley 3rd November 1681.

XVIII.—Thomas Crosse, of Crosse Hall, Chorley and Liverpool; son and heir of (XVII.);

entered on Preston Guild Roll 1682 ; married Mary " grandchild " of Thomas Clayton of Adlington, Co. Lancs.; (probably daughter of John Williamson of Liverpool, and Anne his wife daughter of Thomas Clayton of Adlington, who were married at Bolton-le-Moors 30th August 1676) ; postnuptial settlement 22nd July 1698 (C.D. 215) ; Mary Crosse married, secondly, on 12th July 1711 at Chorley, James Parker of Bagganley Hall in Chorley, yeoman, who was buried 23rd August 1747 ; she was buried 21st February 1753 ; for them and their issue see Wilson, *Chorley Church* (1914). Thomas Crosse was buried at Chorley 24th June 1706 ; administration C. C. Chester 30th April 1707 to widow. He left issue.[1]

[1] For the pedigree from this point and the division of the family into the Leghs of Adlington, Co. Chester, and the Crosses of Shaw Hill, in Chorley, reference may be made to Foster's *Lancashire Pedigrees*, Burke's *Landed Gentry*, Ormerod's *Cheshire*, iii., 663, Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, ii., 249, and the *Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*.

TOCKHOLES CHAPEL.

By John Livesey.

The following deed (from Close Roll 5556) gives some further information as to the endowment of Tockholes Chapel, recorded briefly in Abram's *History of Blackburn*, p. 695.

[January 2, 1735-6].

ATHERTON & HOLME. This Indenture made between John Atherton of Liverpool, co. Lancaster, merchant and Frances his wife of the first part, the Governors of the Bounty of Queen Ann for the Augmentation of the maintenance of the poor Clergy, and Ralph Livesay of Livesay in the said county, Esq., of the second part, Alexander Osbaldeston of Preston, John Ainsworth of Pleasington, Esquires, John Holme, clerk, and Thomas Whalley, gent., both of Blackburn all in the said county of Lancaster (trustees for the Chapel of Tockholes hereinafter mentioned) of the third part, and Thomas Holme, clerk, curate of Tockholes in Blackburn aforesaid of the fourth part. Whereas the said Ralph Livesay did by his deed bearing date the 9th of February 1724 propose and promise to the said Governors to advance and pay £200 so soon as they should order £200 to be added thereto the whole to be laid out for a perpetual augmentation of the Curacy of Tockholes aforesaid. And whereas the said Governors have ordered £200 to be paid out of their revenue to be laid out together with the moneys so proposed as aforesaid in a purchase of lands and tythes to be settled for a perpetual augmentation of the said Curacy of Tockholes. And whereas the said Alexander Osbaldeston, John Ainsworth, John Holme and Thomas Whalley have agreed and consented to add £105 being part of the Chapel Stock of Tockholes to be laid out together with the moneys so ordered by the said Governors and proposed by the said Ralph Livesay as aforesaid making together in the whole

£505: Now this indenture witnesseth that for and in consideration of £505 to the said John Atherton in hand paid he the said John Atherton doth grant bargain sell and confirm unto the said Thomas Holme and his successors, curates of the Curacy of Tockholes, all that messuage or tenement called Barnsfold and several closes and parcels of land thereunto belonging containing 53 acres 1 rood 22 perches lying in Goosnargh, co. Lancaster, now in the occupation of John Parsons. To have and to hold the same unto the said Thomas Holme and his successors curates of the curacy of Tockholes for ever for a perpetual augmentation of the said curacy, etc.

In witness whereof, etc.,

Witnesses:

S. Richmond Ra. Peters,
Richd. Bernshall, Ja. Naylor,
Henry Fielden, Lawrence Holden.

LANCASTER JOTTINGS, V.

The New Hall and its Owners.

THE New Hall is marked on Speed's plan of Lancaster (1611) as situated on the south side of Church Street, then called St. Mary's Street, near the present New Street. It was the house of Lawrence Starkey in the time of Henry VIII., and he probably built it. Starkey was a prominent official in the county in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. A younger contemporary has been wrongly identified with him both in Whitaker's *Whalley* (ii., 46-48) and in Pink and Beaven's *Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire*, viz., Lawrence Starkie of Huntroyde. The statement that he ended his days in the London Charterhouse is due to some error on the part of the index-maker of Brewer's *Letters and Papers* of Henry VIII.,[1] or to confusion with another of the same name.

Our Lawrence was a younger son of Geoffrey Starkey of Stretton, in Cheshire, about five miles south of Warrington, and brother of Richard Starkey who held that manor till his death in 1526.[2] His mother was Joan, daughter and co-heir of Roger Darby of Chester and Liverpool, and by her he was a kinsman of Lady Stanley wife of Sir Edward Stanley of Hornby (afterwards Lord Mounteagle), and probably owed his promotion to this circumstance. He became one of Sir Edward's most trusted officials, and was deputy or acting sheriff for him,

[1] *Letters and Papers*, v., 301 (dated 18th June, 1531).

[2] *Cheshire Sheaf*, 3rd Series, ix., 103. Pedigree in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, i., 666, where Lawrence is omitted.

Sir Edward having been appointed sheriff of the county for life in 1485.[1] He was also one of the coroners, and for a time at least was a receiver of the Duchy revenues.[2] Lord Mounteagle, who died in 1523, made him one of his executors, and in that capacity he occurs in the State Papers of Henry VIII.'s time, several of his letters being preserved in the Public Record Office.[3] Starkey served as mayor of Lancaster in 1495-6 and later and was returned as one of the members of the borough in 1529.[4]

The first documents here printed recite complaints against him both as mayor of the town and under-sheriff of the county. Starkey himself, in a letter to Lord Darcy soon after Lord Mounteagle's death, states that Mounteagle's adversaries had prayed the king to remove him (Starkey) from the office of sheriff, alleging that they could not have justice while he held it.[5] Collom bridge, mentioned in the following depositions, is now known as Cowan Bridge; near it is the Lowood School of *Jane Eyre*. Lancaster Corporation had the tolls of the bridge in 1488,[6] which explains their possession of a house there. There is nothing to fix the date more exactly than the fact that Sir Henry Marney was Chancellor of the Duchy from 1509 till his death in 1523.

To the right honorable Syr Henry Marney Knyght of the garter Chauncellour of the Duchie of Lancastre.[7]

Humbly shewyth unto your Maistership your Oratour Wyllyam Tunstall of Fayrthwayte Parke in the Countie

[1] For example, see *Duchy Pleadings* (Rec. Soc. Lancs. & Ches.), vol. i.
[2] *Ducatus Lanc.*, i., 197; ii., 204.
[3] Brewer's *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, iii., iv.
[4] *Ibid.* iii., p. 2692.
[5] *Ibid.*, iii., No. 3187 (17 July, 1523).
[6] *V.C.H. Lancs.*, viii., 43, note 171.
[7] Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings, vol. 18, T3.

of Lancastre that where your sayd Oratour by specyall labor and procurement of one Laurence Starky gentylman, mayr of Lancastre and undershyref of the Countie of Lancashyre, and one William Sclater of Lancastre by theyr malycyose and crafty meanys made a byll of indictament for to have indycted your sayd Oratour at the towne of Lancastre, the whiche to doo xij. men of the sayd towne refusyd knowyng the sayd byll was onely made for malyce. And the sayd Starky perseyvyng that he cold not performe his malycyose intent went unto the farthest part of the sayd shire to a towne callyd Wygayn and ther indictyd your sayd Oratour of forsyble entre into a house wherunto the towne of Lancastre never pretendyd tytyll nether before nor sens. And where your sayd Oratour hath layn syk and went not oute of his house save onely upon crowches all this last somer, yet notwythstondyng the sayd Starky for malyce hath indictyd hym wherof he knowyth not In lyke forme as he dyd indycte syr Christofer Pykeryng and his broder wyth other xxx. persons wyth them for stelyng of shepe, and also John Cansfeld for stelyng of a mare, as ys his custume to doo wyth many other suche as he owyth malyce unto. In consideracion not onely of the premysses but also for the great Iniuryes, extorcyons, wronges, counterfeatyng and forgyng of evydences as of counterfeatyng of a testymonyall of the gentylmen's sealys of Lancashire and Westmerland agayns Maister Urswyk for the Priour of Cartmell wherof he was attayntyd bifore the kynges Councell in the kynges days that dede ys (whose soull God pardon), as also for makyng of the byll of defamacyon of Maister Conyngesby, For the whiche one Gylys Curwen's wyfe dyd opon penaunce at Westmynster ; as also for forgyng of evydences of Edward Parker's land, whereby the said Parker's wyfe was dystracte long tyme after ; As also for receyvyng of dyvers summes of moneye of dyvers collectors, retournyng them to be dede whom be yet lyvyng, in deceyvyng the kynges grace of his dutye and the sayd collectors. And ferthermore where the sayd Starky beyng shireff and Receyvour should, because he was and ys the kynge's offycer, ought to have gevyn good example in that wyld countre for to obey the kynges commaundement, he nothyng regardyng the kynge's commaundement ne the pryvey sealys to hym dyrectyd wold not appere befor your Maistership because that a Chanon which usyth sorcery and that hath done opon penaunce at Yorke for crystenyng of a Cok dyd councell

hym to tary at home whan the sayd commaundement came to the sayd Starkey, Advertysyng hym that yf he came at that tyme that he shuld be hangyd, but advysyd hym to tary to suche tyme as he bad hym goo and then he wold warant hym to cumme up safe. Plesyth yt your good Maistership, the premysses consydered, to punysshe and correcte the sayd Starkey acordyng to Justyce that other may be ware and take example for forgyng of evydence, extortion and infidelite ; So that the sayd cuntre may be by your proteccion in good rest and quete. And your sayd Oratour shall pray to Almyghty God for the preservacyon of your Maistership long to endure.

T3a. Starkey's Reply.

He denies the charges, most of which are "nothing material." No complaints had been made against him before the king's judges or special commissioners. As to the special complaint here made he says that Lancaster is an ancient borough, and the mayor, burgesses and commonalty are seised of a house in Tunstall nigh to Collombrige, which they have held for 20 years past. But about six years ago William Tunstall forcibly entered and still keeps possession of it, and that was the reason why he was indicted at Wigan. At a sessions at Lancaster a little before last Christmas a number of complaints were made against Tunstall by many persons for riots, extortions, briberies, etc., and Tunstall's neighbours have many times complained to Lord Mounteagle as sheriff of the injuries he has done them.

T3b.

Tunstall in reply reiterated his complaint.

With such a position under the Stanleys it is not surprising that Starkey acquired wealth. He purchased a number of small properties in north Lancashire—in Lancaster itself, Bolton-le-Sands and the neighbourhood, Preston and Broughton ; also others in Yorkshire, Cheshire and Staffordshire. He was twice married. The name of his first wife is not known, but from her daughter's will, quoted below, it appears that she had a tenement at Henley-on-Thames. This daughter, whose name was Margaret, married George Singleton, as appears from the complaint

next cited, and after his death (about 1518) she married William Banaster. By her second husband she left a son and heir Wilfrid, who was sixteen years of age in 1550 and therefore born about 1534.[1] The date of Tunstall's complaint was sometime in the latter end of 1523, after Lord Marney's death. The parliament referred to was that summoned for April, 1523. The election is not recorded by Pink and Beaven, who say, under Lancaster, that "returns were discontinued for nearly two centuries," *i.e.*, between 1331 and 1529.

Complaint[2] by William Tunstall to Sir Richard Wyngfeld, K.G., as Chancellor of the Duchy, concerning the manor of Auclyff [Aldcliffe] near Lancaster. He states that Elizabeth late abbess of Syon by lease of 7 Sept. 1515 granted the manor for seven years to George Syngilton, who died two or three years later, when one William Banyster marrying George's widow came into possession. The present abbess[3] gave plaintiff a lease of the manor to begin on the expiry of that mentioned, but Banister refuses to quit, in spite of the abbess and in spite of a privy seal directed against him by Lord Marney lately Chancellor. "And over that one Laurence Starkey, fader-in-lawe unto the said Banyster, beyng nowe mayr of Lancastre, by his subtill and crafty meanys a litill before the cummyng up to London of the said Banyster causid the said Banyster to be made a freman of Lancastre, And incontynent after causid hym to be chosen a burgeys of parlyament. By reason whereof the said Banyster myght escape from this courte and the lawes of the realme in defrauding and delaying your said Oratour of his right and also to frustrate and delude the kynges said commaundement."

Banaster in reply [T.9a] denied there was any such lease made to Singleton, or that any privy seal had been directed against him; at any rate he had never been called to make answer. George Singleton had held the manor not

[1] There is a pedigree in Whitaker's *Craven* (ed. Morant), 236. Wilfrid married Isabel, daughter of John Talbot of Salesbury, and is named as his son-in-law in Talbot's will, 1551; Piccope's *Wills* (Chet. Soc.), iii., 106.

[2] Duchy of Lanc. Pleadings, xviii., T9.

[3] Dame Agnes," from the first day of March last past" (1522-3). See T9, *b*.

by lease, but in succession to his brother by the custom of tenant-right of the country there used time out of mynde. The abbess Elizabeth was very desirous that Margaret Starky, daughter to Lawrence, should marry Singleton, and promised that they should enjoy the manor according to the custom of tenant right. Lawrence consented and " gave great sums of money to the same George in marriage with his said daughter," so enabling him to pay debts he owed to the abbess. He himself held the manor in right of his wife, George's widow. As to the further charge made he " saith that he was freely by the desire and good minds of the burgesses of the said town [of Lancaster] chosen burgess thereof as other burgesses tofore there hath been."

Tunstall replied denying the tenure by tenant-right. The manor had always been held by lease from the abbess as by one Claughton, Sir Thomas Strikland kt. and one Gardyner. Banister rejoined, repeating and amplifying the statements he had made previously.

Lawrence Starkey's second wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Butler of Bewsey, one of the magnates of the county. She had been married previously to a Radcliffe,[1] and to George Atherton of Atherton or Chowbent, esq.,[2] and it is said she had dower from each. Starkey married her about 1519, and this being a great match for him he was expected to make a correspondingly liberal settlement to provide for her and any issue by her. The statement of several witnesses, as will be seen by the depositions printed below, was that he offered to assign his whole landed estate to feoffees for the use of himself, his wife should she survive him, and their issue, whether son or daughter. As this arrangement practically disinherited the daughter by the former marriage, it was on this point that, after his death, the disputes took place which led to the examinations of witnesses by order of the

[1] Apparently John Radcliffe of Radcliffe Tower, whose wife was named Anne. He died without legitimate issue in 1514. *V.C.H. Lancs.*, v., 59.

[2] *Lancs. Visitation* of 1567 (Chet. Soc.). Atherton died in 1518.

Chancellor. By this marriage he had a daughter, Etheldreda, who was 28 years old and more in 1550, and therefore was born about 1520.[1] She married Humphrey Newton of Newton and Pownall in Cheshire and left issue.[2]

Starkey died on 24th July, 1532. In addition to the two daughters named above, he had an illegitimate son, Oliver Starkey, who occurs as holding property in Caton. The following inquisition is declared in the depositions to record the result of an agreement between the disputants. The statement seems reasonable enough in view of the date, and must be taken into account in considering its terms :

By an inquisition[3] taken at Preston before Ralph Worsley, esq., escheator, on 26 August 4 Edward VI. [1550] it was found that Lawrence Starkye esq. had died seised of four messuages, four burgages, and various lands and rents in Lancaster, Preston, Broughton, Halghton, Chepindale, Bolton [-le-Sands], Slyne, Haklackes, Nether Hutton, Hyesham, Scotford and Flokborowe. The estate descended to Margaret wife of William Banaster esq. and Etheldred wife of Humphrey Newton gent., as daughters and heirs, who accordingly entered into possession. On 31 March 30 Henry VIII [1539] Margaret Banaster, then a widow, granted a life annuity of 20*s.* to her servant William Symkynson, on tenements in Broughton near Preston ; and on 6 Oct. 1542 she made her will, of which the following extract is recorded :

> Item yt ys my wyll that my brother Olyver Starkye and my servantes Wylliam Sympkynson and George Metcalfe shall have every oon of them annuell rent of xx*s.* by yere for terme of their lyffes and for the lyf of every of them to be taken and receyved yerelye of the revenues rentes and proffytes of my moitie and purpart of my laundes in the countye of Lancaster at days usuall and accustomed by thandes of myne executours. And for default of paiment of the said

[1] In depositions (see below) taken in November, 1541, the mother Anne was stated to have died about 22 years earlier—say in 1520.
[2] *Visitation of Cheshire*, 1612 (Harl. Soc.)
[3] Duchy of Lanc. Inq. p. m., ix., 21.

annuityes the said Olyver, Wylliam and George severallye to dystreyne upon all my laundes in Lancashire tyll thay be satysfied of theire said annuityes wythe the arrerages of the same. Providet alway that when so ever yt shall happen eny of the said Olyver, William and George to deceasse that then the annuitie of hym so deceasynge to retorne and remayne to myn executours for performaunce of thys my last wyll. And the resydew of all the rentes and fermes and the revenues of my moitie and purpart of my laundes to me discended by my father in the countyes of Yorke, Lancaster, Chester and Stafford, and also of a mese or tenement in Henley upon Thames discended unto me by my mother I will that myne executours shall yerely receyve perceave and take the same for terme of xiiijth yeares next ensuinge my deceasse towardes the payment of my dettes and performaunce of my wyll; the remaynder to reverte to my sone Wylfryde Banaster and hys heires for ever.

Margaret died on 20 Oct. following, and her moiety of her father's estate then came to her son and heir Wilfrid Banaster, who being under age became the king's ward. The lands were held of the king as Duke of Lancaster by knight's sêrvice. Lawrence Starkye died 24 July 24 Henry VIII. [1532], and the heirs were the above-named Wilfrid and Etheldred, their ages now being 16 years 10 months and 28 years respectively.

The following petition,[1] addressed to the Chancellor in Hilary term 28 Henry VIII. (Jan. 1536-7), shows how the matter stood five years after Starkey's death:

To the right hon. Sir William Fitzwilliam Kt., lord admiral of England and chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Humphrey Newton and Etheldrede his wife complain that whereas the late Lawrence Starkie, one of the king's receivers of the Duchy, had lands in Preston and elsewhere in Lancashire, also in Cheshire, Staffordshire and Yorkshire, and about 17 years ago enfeoffed Sir William Laylond Kt. (then esquire) and others to hold to the use of the said Lawrence, Anne his wife and their issue, the said Etheldrede being that issue, yet she cannot obtain possession. Lawrence

[1] Duchy of Lanc. Depositions, xxxi., N2.

being in debt to the king at his death, a commission was appointed to inquire into his possessions, and a return was duly made; then the administration was committed to William Banastre, Sir Simon Starky (deceased), Thomas Starky and Richard Marbury, who will not pay the king the money owing to him nor allow petitioners their inheritance under the feoffment. They pray that Banastre and the others be called to account.

An order was then made for the attendance of William Banaster and Thomas Starkey esquires and Richard Marbury gent. Thomas Starkey of Stretton and Sir Simon (no doubt a priest) were nephews of Lawrence Starkey.

William Banaster in reply said he was willing to render an account to anyone the Chancellor of the Duchy might appoint to receive it, but his own wife Margaret was one of the heirs of Lawrence Starkye and he had to preserve her right.

On 15 Nov., 1537, the king ordered Sir Marmaduke Tunstall, Sir James Layborne and George Leigh to inquire into the complaint and Banaster's reply. The following letter gives the result:

Oure deuties in humble wysse remembrede unto your goode lordshipe, pleasithe the same to be advertishede: We resavede a commyssion oute of the Duchie chamere to us and to oone George Leighe esquiere directede for a mattre in travesse betwixe Humfrey Newton and Etheldrede his wiff upon thone partie, and William Banastre gentilman and Margaret his wyf upon thother partie; and accordyng to theffecte of the said commyssion we appoyntede Fryday the vth daye of Aprill last paste to have executede the same and ther of dide assertayne the said George Leigh and the aforsaid Newton by our writynge as we be creadabilly informede; Who dide faithefully promyse for to have kepte the same day. At which day we bothe were redie at Lancastre accordynge to our deweties and the said Banastre in likewysse, bot the said Legh and the afforsaide Newton dide not appeire ne none for theme. By reason whereof and for asmuche as the saide Leigh was of the quorum in the same commyssion we colde nothinge doo at that tyme in executynge the same

and for so mych as the afforsaide Newton, unto whome the folowynge of the same commyssion dothe specially belonge, was then absente as he haith beyne sinderye tymes hertofore, We trust that your lordeshipe will taike suche one indeferent ordre and direccion in the premisses that the saide parties heraftre shalbe at a better staye and appoyntemente; wherein your lordeshipe shall do a good and meritoryus deade, as knowithe the holie Trynitie, whoe preserve your lordeshipe withe myche honour. Writyn at Lancastre the vjth day of this instante moneth of Aprill [1538].

Youer own to hys lytyll pouer
JAMES LAYBURN K.

Yowrs at commandment,
MARMADUC TUNSTALL K.

To the right honorable and oure singulere goode lord the Erle of Hampetonne Chauncelere of the Duchie of Lancastere.

The Newtons resumed their complaint in the Easter term of 1540, by the following bill.[1] It shows that William Banaster died between April, 1538, and April, 1540. Henry Banaster is described as "of Whitwell."

To the right hon. William earl of Hampton lord admiral of England and Chancellor of the Duchy.

Humphrey Newton and Etheldrede his wife recite their story in similar terms (the feoffment was made 22 years ago; the lands in Cheshire were at Appleton and Stretton, and those in Staffordshire at Newcastle; the debt to the king was £158 19*s.* 6*d.*), renewing the complaint that William Banaster and Margaret his wife had taken the rents of Starkye's lands from Pentecost 24 Henry VIII. till Martinmas in the 28th year, and that William Banastre had accounted before Thomas Burgon and others appointed by the Chancellor but was found in arrears; and that afterwards, in April in the 28th year [1537] George Poulett and Thurstan Tyldesley were made receivers of the estate, Poulett for Cheshire and Staffordshire (receiving nothing because the lands are mortgaged) and Tyldesley for Lancashire and Yorkshire (£18 yearly). William Banastre is now dead, and the deed of feoffment, with other evidences,

[1] Duchy of Lanc. Pleadings, xii., N. 1.

has come into the hands of Margaret Banastre and one Henry Banastre, brother of William, who have " by their craftye and subtyll invencions and collusyons embeseled conveyed and destroyed as well the said dede of feffement as also some part of the said other dedes evidences and wrytinges." Margaret has entered into possession of the estate, to petitioners' injury. They claim also a moiety of that third part of the goods, which is the children's share according to the custom of the county.

Margaret Banaster's reply recited the former answer of her late husband, and denied the alleged feoffment ; if the deed had been drawn up, possession had not been given. Newton had already had witnesses examined on that matter and failed to prove his case. As to the goods and chattels her husband had rendered an account.

Humphrey and Etheldrede replied, saying that Anne before she married Lawrence Starkye had lands of £80 a year for life as jointures from her previous husbands,— Radclyff of the Towre esq. and — Atherton of the Cholbent esq., and also owned considerable goods, and therefore her father Sir Thomas Butler in consenting to the third marriage required this feoffment to be made under which they claimed. They renewed their charge of embezzling the deed and their claim for a moiety of the third part of the goods.

Henry Banaster's reply has been preserved. He said that the late Roger Banaster of Waddyngton made his will about five years ago, and appointed the said Henry, William Banaster of Esyngton, and Henry Colthurst (deceased) his executors. In searching his papers they found the deed of feoffment and read it ; it was signed by Lawrence Starkye and sealed. They left it in a chest in Roger's house. Afterwards Margaret Banaster, then wife of William Banaster of Lancaster, came to the house, accompanied

by William Towrner of Lancaster and others, broke the chest open and took the deed away.

A commission ordering them to inquire was directed to Sir Edward Fytton kt., John Holcroft esq., Francis Frobyssher and John Kechyn, on 12 Feb., 32nd year [1540-41].

Depositions[1] were accordingly taken at Lancaster on 6 April, 1541 (32 Henry VIII.), by Sir Edward Fitton, John Holcroft esq. and Francis Frobissher on behalf of both plaintiffs and defendant in the claim of Omfray Newton and Etheldrede his wife against Margaret Banester. The interrogatories are included with the Pleadings just cited (xii., N. 1); fourteen questions were put on plaintiff's behalf and five on defendant's. Omitting the points on which no answers were given, the depositions, which name the New Hall as Starkey's Lancaster residence, were as follows:

For the Plaintiffs.

William Turner, mayor of Lancaster, aged 50, said he knew Lawrens Starkie, one of the king's receivers of his Duchy of Lancaster. He never knew feoffment made to Sir Thomas Sothworth knight and others of all his lands and tenements to the use of Laurens Starkie and Anne his wife and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten; but he saith he heard it "commyned" that he was minded to give five pounds lands to the use of a chantry in the church of Lancaster.

John Singleton, gentleman, aged 80 and above, saith "that he and Laurens Starkie came ridinge home frome London to gether and in a feld of thisside Rigley townes ende he said unto the said Laurens Starkie, 'I herd say ye most be maried.' And he answerd hym and said, 'I ame maried to a doughter of Sir Thomas Butler.' And that he said he hade made sure all his landes that he hade or myght have to the heires of hym and her, man or woman, except fyve poundes to dispose at his plesure." He heard say that Symkinson fetched writings, but in what place he knoweth not nor where they came afterward.

[1] Duchy of Lanc. Deps., xxxv., N 2.

Sir William Cayton, priest, aged 40, saith he heard Laurens Starkie say in Winmerlee chapel,[1] afore his mistress Alice Ratcliffe, that he had given all his lands in feoffment (except five pounds) to the heirs of his body which he had by Butler's daughter his wife; and that five pounds he would be ordered by his mistress Alice to the use of Olyver Starkie his bastard son. The custom of Lancaster is that the child shall have the third part of his father's goods.

John Standish of Lancaster, gentleman, aged 60 and above, saith that he heard say that "levery and season" were made, but whether it was to the use of his wife or not he knoweth not; and that possession was taken in his chief house at Lancaster, but to what person or what use he knoweth not. The custom of Lancaster is that the child shall have the third part of his father's goods.

Richard Newton, gentleman, aged 56, saith he heard say that Laurens Starkie, then being the receiver of Lancaster, did make a feoffment to certain cofeoffees of all his lands and tenements within the realm of England, except five pounds for the performance of his last will, to the use of the issue lawfully begotten between the said Laurens and the daughter of the said Sir Thomas Butler. He hath heard say that the said Lawrens had delivered possession unto the use aforesaid. He heard say that he was of a great substance and that he was sore indebted unto the king's grace. The child shall have the third part of the goods after the custom of the country.

Christopher Standish, aged 46, saith that he heard Lawrens Starkie in his own house at Lancaster say that he had made a deed of feoffment to his wife and unto the heirs of his and her bodies lawfully begotten. He hath heard say that possession was delivered in all his lands. He was in company with one William Symkinson in Broughton church after the death of Laurens Starkie, and there he said that the heirs that he had by Butler's daughter should have all his lands. And Symkinson said, Nay, she must but have but the one half. And he said again there was a feoffment that would give her the whole. And Symkinson said again that that feoffment would not come to light. And further the said deponent saith that the said Symkinson said that "there was a feoffment and I did see it since my master died, but I think it shall never come [to] light again."

[1] This chapel is not otherwise known. Probably it was a domestic one.

Thomas Ward of Lancaster, aged 50, saith that he hath heard say that there was a feoffment made, but to what use nor whether livery and seisin thereof were made he knoweth not.

Thomas Wilson, aged 57, being household servant and cook to Laurens Starkie, saith that upon a Friday about xij of the clock he fetched all the people out of the north side of the New Hall at Lancaster, and then he saith that " my maister dyd giffe the reigne of the dore to Sir George Gillebrand priest to giffe possession to my maister," but to what intent he knoweth not.[1]

Thomas Bradshaye, servant to Sir Thomas Butler, kt., aged 60, saith that he heard Laurens Starkie say that he would make a feoffment of his lands, but whether he did or not he knoweth not.

Edward Barker, aged 42, saith that he hath heard Laurens Starkie say that he had made his lands by feoffment as surely as could be devised to Sir Thomas Sothworth, Sir Thomas Langton, Sir William Laylond, the old parson of Werington and Sir George Gelebrand, to the use of himself and Anne his wife and the longer liver of them and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten ; but whether livery and seisin thereof was made or not he knoweth not. He heard say that Sir George Gelebrand took the deed in the one hand and the ring of the door in the other hand, and took possession. He heard William Symkinson say that he read the feoffment that was made betwixt him and Anne his wife, and after the decease of Master Starkie when William Symkinson had been at London shortly after the death of the said Laurens, " I askyd hym how the land shuld be devided now when my maister was deade ; and Symkinson said that he hade made sure that she shuld have bot the one halfe."

Alexander Branthwait, aged 50 and above, late household servant to Starkie, saith he hath heard his master say that he would make all his lands sure, except a certain [part] which he would not name, to the use of him and his wife and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten, but whether he did it or not this deponent knoweth not. He heard Henry Banister of the Whitwell say that he read a deed, which (as he said) was to the use of the said Lawrens and Anne his wife and the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten.

[1]The north door would be the principal entrance, in Church Street.

For the Defendant.

James Clough of Lancaster, late servant to Lawrens Starkie, aged 50, saith he hath heard say that Humfrey Newton hath offered money to certain persons to be witness for him, but never none to him. A man of Bowland told him that the said Humfrey did offer him money for to be one of his witness, but his name he knoweth not.

William Symkinson, servant to defendant, aged 30, saith that the said Laurens Starkie did purchase all his lands during the time of his first wife, mother of the said Margaret Banister, except his lands and tenements in Amoundernesse, which he purchased of one Singleton, and which amount to the sum of iiij. li. or thereabouts. He hath heard say that the said Newton did offer the house that [he] dwelled in to Thomas Colthirst to be a witness for him.

EDWARD FYTTON K.
JOHN HOLCROFT.
FRANCES FROBISER.

An order was made that the Newtons should have a moiety of the lands, without let by Margaret Banaster.[1]

Depositions on behalf of the Newtons were taken in Cheshire also, as appears by the following *Inspeximus* on the Recognizance Roll of 33 and 34 Henry VIII. [19 Dec., 1541].[2] They are interesting as recording Lord Mounteagle's opinion of the marriage arrangements.

Interrogatories.

1.—Whether Lawrence Starky, in consideration of his marriage with Anne daughter of Sir Thomas Butteler, gave to feoffees all his lands (except parcels of the total rent of £5 a year), to the use of Lawrence, Anne and their issue.
2.—Whether the deed of feoffment was duly executed.
3.—What goods had Lawrence at his death?
4.—Whether any of the feoffees had been heard to say they were present at the New Hall in Lancaster when possession was taken.

[1] Duchy of Lancs. Decrees and Orders, vii., 105d.

[2] Roll 205, m. 2. The "interrogatories" are not printed in full.

Depositions

taken at Chester before Sir Rees Manxell kt., Chamberlain of Chester, in the Exchequer there the xvij. day of November in the xxxiij. year of the reign of our most dread sovereign lord Henry the VIII [1541] . . . . concerning a matter in traverse depending betwixt Humphrey Newton and Ethlrede his wife plaintiffs, and Margaret Banester, defendant.

Geoffrey Deyne of Astley in the county of Lancaster, yeoman, of the age of lviij. years, sworn and examined upon the holy Evangelists upon the interrogatories foresaid, upon his oath saith to the first article that he the said deponent was servant to Anne daughter of Sir Thomas Butteler kt., the said Anne then being wife to George Adderton, and continued her servant after marriage had betwixt the said Anne and Lawrence Starky during all the lifetime of the said Anne; which Anne died about xxij. years past. And also saith that Lawrence Starky upon a Friday about xij. of the clock of the same day delivered feoffment to Sir George Gylibrounde priest (in the name of Sir Thomas Longton, Sir Thomas Southworth, Sir Richard Delves parson of Waryngton and others[1]) of all his lands and tenements except lands of five pounds by the year, which the said Lawrence reserved to do his pleasure withall, to the use of the same Lawrence Starky and Anne his wife and to the heirs of the said Lawrence begotten of the body of the said Anne whether it were male or female: which feoffment was taken at the New Hall in Lancaster at the north door by the ring of the same door; at which time this deponent was present. And also saith that one other time Sir Richard Delves, uncle to the said Anne, did take like feoffment of all the lands of the said Lawrence Starky in the names of the feoffees foresaid, reciting the said use: which feoffment was likewise taken at the north door at the New Hall in Lancaster by the ring of the same door. And divers times this deponent hath heard the said Lawrence Starky say unto this deponent and other his servants that he had delivered feoffment of all his lands except five pounds to the intent aforesaid. And also saith that the said Sir George Gilibrounde showed this deponent that he [had] taken possession to the uses aforesaid. And also saith that the said Lawrence Starky commanded one Thomas Wylson, then being cook and servant to the said Lawrence, to cause the house called the New Hall to be avoided, as well of the

[1] The other feoffees were Sir William Leyland and Gilibrounde himself.

blind man which the said Lawrence kept for alms as all other, at the time of the feoffment given and delivered to the said Sir George Gilibrounde. And as unto the deeds this deponent doth not remember that he saw any. To the second article he saith that he this deponent was present when that the same estate and feoffment was executed according to the uses beforesaid. To the iij. and iv. articles he nothing can say.

Thomas Rymyngton of Preston in the county of Lancaster, of the age of lvij. years or thereabouts, sworn and examined upon the holy Evangelist upon the interrogatories foresaid, upon his oath saith to the first article that he this deponent was servant unto the Lord Mountagle that died last and fellow in household with Lawrence Starky and of counsel with the said Lawrence concerning the marriage between the said Lawrence and Anne daughter of Sir Thomas Butteler kt. And saith of a truth that he this deponent heard the said Lawrence show the said lord then his master that he could not obtain the marriage of the said Anne unless he the said Lawrence did make a feoffment, unto the said Anne and unto such issue as the [said] Lawrence should lawfully beget of the body of the said Anne, of all his lands except five pounds: which the said lord advised him to do, and said—Else he the said Lawrence was not worthy to have her; and said his cousin Sir Thomas Butteler was none such child without assurance of the lands to agree to the marriage. And further saith that he this said deponent was present when Sir George Gilibroande did deliver [*sic*] feoffment at the north door of the New Hall in Lancaster by the ring of the same door in the name of Sir Thomas Longton, Sir Thomas Southworth, Sir William Leylond kts., and Sir Richard Delves, parson of Waryngton, to the uses and intents as the said Geoffrey Deyne, the first deponent, before hath deposed and said. And saith in everything concerning the feoffment taken and delivered by the said Sir George Gilibrounde priest as the first deponent hath said. And further saith that Lawrence Starky showed this deponent divers times that he the said Lawrence had delivered feoffment of all his lands and tenements to the feoffees before named to the uses and intents before specified, and at the executing of the said feoffment certain deeds were read declaring the uses before named. To the second article he saith as he in the first article hath saith, and in every other thing as Geoffrey Deyne the first deponent hath deposed and said. To the

iij. article he saith that the said Lawrence at the time of his death was well plated and had substance to the estimation of the deponent to the value of three hundred marks. To the iiij. article he nothing can say.

William Warde of Monkesheth in the county of Chester gent., of the age of xlvij. years or thereabouts, sworn and examined upon the holy evangelists upon the said interrogatories upon his oath saith that about two or three years past this deponent then being at London in company with one Humphrey Newton, the same Newton desired this said deponent to go with him to hear the saying of one Sir George Gylibrounde priest, then being at Saint Katherine's besides the Tower of London. And according to his request this deponent and the said Newton went to the said Sir George; at which time the said Newton said, "Sir George, you were priest and servant to Lawrence Starky my father-in-law and were privy to the feoffment made in consideration of the marriage had betwixt my father-in-law and my mother-in-law, daughter to Sir Thomas Butteler kt., which feoffment, as I am credibly informed, ye did take and receive in the name of Sir Thomas Langton, Sir Thomas Southworth, and Sir William Leyland kts., and of Sir Richard Delves, parson of Warrington, and others to the use of Lawrence Starky and Anne his wife and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten." Whereunto the said Sir George answered and said, "I do not perfectly remember the use thereof"; saying further, "I remember that Lawrence Starky delivered me feoffment, in the name of the said Sir Thomas Langton kt., and the others his cofeoffees, by the ring of the hall door in Lancaster, according to the use and intent mentioned in the deeds made thereof." And more therein this deponent knoweth not.

The result is narrated in the following petition by Wilfrid Banaster. A division had been made, each of the parties receiving a moiety, as appears by the Starkey inquisition above. Wilfrid himself, after his mother's death, became the king's ward until he came of age and livery was granted to him on 20 March, 1555-6.[1] As Sir Robert Rochester died 28 Nov., 1557, this petition must have been sent in to the Duchy Chancery about

[1] *Deputy Keeper's Report*, xxxix., 550.

that time, for the petitioner states that he had held his mother's moiety " for two years past."

To the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Rochester kt. Comptroller of the King and Queen's household and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Complaint by Wilfrid Banaster, Robert Dyconson, Thomas Smythe, Thomas Rigmaden and George Wynder. Humphrey Newton had exhibited a bill of complaint against William Banaster now deceased, father of Wilfrid, alleging that Lawrence Starkey deceased had enfeoffed Sir William Leyland kt. and others in his lands at Lancaster, etc., to the use of the said Lawrence and Anne his wife and their issue, the issue being a daughter Etheldrede wife of Humphrey. William Banaster had replied, defending the right of his wife Margaret, the other daughter and co-heir of Lawrence. After the Newtons' reply, commissions were issued, evidence taken, and the whole matter discussed thoroughly by the chancellor and counsel. It was adjudged that as Humphrey Newton had not been able to prove any such feoffment as he alleged, the estate must go to the two daughters as co-heirs, and a partition between them was made of the New Hall in Lancaster. William Banaster and Margaret died seised of one moiety of the estate, and a commission in the nature of a *Diem clausit extremum* was issued, whereby it was found that Margaret had died seised of a moiety and that Wilfrid Banaster was her son and heir. Being under age he became the king's ward, but in time sued his livery and had enjoyed his mother's moiety for two years past. " And nowe so yt ys, if yt please your honorabill mastershepe, that the said Humfray Newton ys and of longe tyme hayth byn servant and doth weare the cote and lyvere of one Sir Edmund Trafforth knyghte, whoo ys nowe sheriffe of the saide countye of Lancastre, and in hoope of suche frendeshepe and unlawfull favor as he shall fynde in the said sheriffe, beyng his maister, and other of his frendes dwellynge within the said countye of Lancaster, and also for that he knoweth the said Willffride Banaster, one of your said oratours, whoe ys sole tenant of the said moyte of the premisses, to be a poore yonge man and to have fewe frendes within the said countye of Lancaster, the said Humfray Newton and Etheldride his wiffe in Lent last past arrayned one assise of novell dissin agaynst your said orators before the kyng and quene's justic of assise at Lancaster concerning such parte and porcion of the premisses

lyeng and beynge within the said countye of Lancastre as dothe apperteyne unto the said Willffride Banaster and whereof hee ys nowe seased : Whereunto your said oratours have appered and pleaded in barre. Which assise ys yet dependyng, where youre said orator ys lyke to be condempned by the frendesheppe of the said sheriffe and by the mayntenance and bearynge of divers other persons within the said countye of Lancaster, whoo doo greately favour the said Humfray Newton and Etheldride his wiffe. And for as myche as the tytylls of both the saides parties have heretofore byn throwly and delyberately harde and determyned in this honorabill courte in maner and forme aforesaid, yt may therefore please your honorabill mastershepe to graunt the kynge and quene's heighnes writt of iniuncion to be dyrected unto the said Humfray Newton and Etheldride his wiffe theire counselors and attorneys comandyng and enyoynyng theme and every of theme upon a certen payne therein to be lymyted no further to procede in the said assise against your said orators nor agaynst any of theme."

The injunction was granted and proceedings stayed, but at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign (in February, 1558-9) Banaster was called upon to show cause why the injunction should not be dissolved.[1] Soon afterwards Humphrey Newton and Etheldrede his wife petitioned Sir Ambrose Cave as chancellor,[2] reciting a feoffment made on Lawrence Starkye's marriage with Anne the mother of Etheldrede, whereby all Lawrence's lands were to descend to the issue of this marriage, except some to the value of £5 a year. The deed of feoffment had been lost and had come into the hands of Wilfrid Banaster, who was trying to dispossess the complainants. All the feoffees were dead except Sir Thomas Langton, now very aged and not able to travel to the court. They therefore ask that a commission be issued for the taking of his evidence in the matter,

[1] Duchy of Lancaster Order Books, xii., 92.

[2] Duchy of Lanc. Pleadings, xlvi., N 5. There is no date on the petition, but the *Ducatus* ascribes it to 2 Eliz.

and of any other testimonies. They have a suit depending at the assizes at Lancaster, and their whole claim rests upon the feoffment referred to.

In their petition to Sir Ambrose Cave, Chancellor of the Duchy, in Hilary term 3 Elizabeth [1560-1],[1] his poor and daily orators Wilfrid Banaster, Robert Diconson, Thomas Smythe, Thomas Rigmaden and George Winder state that Humphrey Newton and Etheldride his wife had exhibited a bill of complaint against Margaret Banaster, mother of Wilfrid, concerning lands in Lancaster, Bolton, etc., and that inquiry had been made and the result returned to the court. Margaret had died seised and Wilfrid on entering into his inheritance as son and heir, had demised parcels to Diconson and the other complainants. But now the Newtons were trying to dispossess them and had "offered a great part of the premisses unto divers men of the said county for their favour and aid in that behalf," and had received "such comfort of the obtaining of their ungodly purpose" that they were now actively prosecuting a suit at the assizes which they had entered as long ago as Lent 3 and 4 Philip and Mary (1557).

This petition delayed proceedings for a time, but in June, 1561, the plaintiffs' case was dismissed with costs.[2] The Newtons may have succeeded in establishing their claims, for in 1561 they sold their lands in Lancaster to Sir Richard Shireburne of Stonyhurst, and he died in 1596 in possession of the New Hall.[3] Soon afterwards it seems to have been acquired by Henry Porter, vicar of Lancaster, 1582-1609,

[1] Duchy of Lanc. Pleadings, xliv., B 21.

[2] Duchy of Lanc. Order Books, xiii., 56.

[3] *V.C.H. Lancs.*, viii., 40.

for from a Chancery suit of 1684[1] it appears that the New Hall near the Castle Hill in Lancaster descended to his grandson Henry, a leading man in the town and district in the middle of the seventeenth century.[2]

From the depositions in this suit it appears that he married Anne, daughter of Henry Ashhurst of Ashhurst near Wigan, and died in 1666. His widow, who had the New Hall as part of her jointure, lived for a time at Ashhurst and Ormskirk, but returned to Lancaster and died at the New Hall. Henry Porter had a son of the same name (born 1635), who died "when the great plague was in London." He had been admitted to Gray's Inn in 1657. He married Margaret, daughter of Bryan Taylor of Mythop, about June, 1654, and left two children—Henry and Anne. The son died in 1682, before attaining his majority, and the daughter became heir. She had been baptized in Gray's Inn Chapel in 1659 and married Ralph Livesey, gentleman.[3] The depositions, which are very long, give many details about the family and estates. Henry Porter, grandfather of Anne, had purchased a house in Cheney Lane, Lancaster, but his "ancient lands" had belonged to his grandfather the vicar.

The Mill at Bulk.

The following petition[4] refers to the decay of the mill in Bulk, which has long ceased to exist. There is no date on the document itself, but the calendar places it in 12 Elizabeth (1569-70).

[1] Pal. of Lanc. Chancery Depositions, bdles. 109 and 111.

[2] See pedigree in Dugdale's *Visitation* (Chet. Soc.), 234.

[3] Anne's surname is not recorded in the Livesey pedigree in Croston's Baines, iv., 37. The eldest son was named Porter.

[4] Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings (P.R.O.), lxxxiii., N 1.

To the right Honorable Sir Raphe Sadler knight one of the Quenes ma'tes moste Honorable Pryvie Counsell and Chauncelour of her Duchie of Lancaster.

IN MOSTE humble wise complaynynge shewith unto your Honour your suppliantes and Daylie oratours Brian Newton maior of the Towne of Lancaster and Burgesses of the same Towne That where there hath ben an aunciente Water mylne standing uppon the water of Loyne commonly called Loyns mylne nere to the saide Towne which is nowe altogether thorough the great Radge of waters utterly decayed and that there hath ben a certaine yerelie Rent of Fower poundes or thereaboutes goinge oute of the saide mylne and paied to the Chauntrie preste there in tymes past untill the Dissolucion of Chauntries And sithens that tyme Hath ben paied to the Quenes highnes and her noble progentours in the right of the Duchie of Lancaster, And that the proffittz of the same mylne over and beside the same Rente have ben of Long tyme used to be paied and bestowed uppon a Scholemaster to teache a Schole at Lancaster aforesaide and bring upp Chylderne and youth in Lernynge and vertu But so it is if it maye please your honour that nowe of Late the said mylne and the Damme and Were belongynge to the saide mylne by reason of Extreeme Floodes are become Royenous and in suche great Decaye that no proffittz at all neither to the Quenes highnes nor to the Schoole canne be taken or had of the saide mylne And that the repaier and makinge of the said Were and Damme and of the saide mylne will coste one hundreth poundes at the Least before any proffitt can Arryse or come of the same or that the Rentes thereof canne be paied: Wherefore your said oratours moste humblie praie your honour to take order either to buylde and repaier the saide mylne agayne in suche sorte as it hathe ben heretofore, For the Ease and Commoditie of the saide Towne that the said Schoole master thereby maye have som relief or els to remitt the saide Rente of Fower poundes And to geve Libertie and Licence to your saide Oratours to buylde and repayer the saide mylne and Damme and that they maye take and have the proffittz of the same to the mayntenance fynding and kepinge of the saide Free Schoole within the same Towne without any Rente, And your saide Oratours will uppon theire owne Charges buylde repaier and mayntayne the same to the only use of the saide Schoole. IN CONSIDERACION whereof the premisses tenderlie considered and for that the said Towne

is Farr from any Schoole or place of Lernyng Maie it please your honour to take suche Order and direction towchinge the premisses as to your honour shall seme meteste to stande with the greateste commoditie of a common welth and bringyng well upp of youth in those partes. And your saide Oratours shall Daylie praie unto God for the preservacion of your honour in helth and honour Longe to contynewe.

CHYSNALL.

Endorsed with address—

Your honours Humble peticioners the Maior and Burgesses of the Towne of Lancaster.

SOUTHWORTH OF HIGHFIELD.

In a petition to the vice-chancellor of Lancaster in 1647 Thomas Southworth of Highfield, gentleman, gave the following account of his descent in making a claim to lands in Ashton and Bolton Holmes: he was eldest son and heir of George Southworth, eldest son of Thomas, eldest son of George Southworth of Highfield, esq., whose wife's name was Anne. (Pal. of Lancaster Chancery Bills, 18, No. 194.) The claimant died in 1673. There is an account of the family in *V.C.H. Lancashire,* viii., 37.

THE VICARAGE OF LANCASTER IN THE CIVIL WAR TIME.

The following pleadings give important information as to the succession in the vicarage during the Civil War period. Dr. Wildbore was appointed in 1631 and held his position until expelled as a Royalist, though his presentation had been opposed at the beginning. It appears that this opposition was renewed and carried to a successful issue during the predominance of the Parliament. At the Restoration the judgment was ignored and Dr. Marshall's successor was appointed in 1660 as to a vacancy

caused by the death of Dr. Wildbore. The Mr. Strickland, whose short incumbency separated those of Barnett and Marshall, has not been identified.

(Pal. of Lanc. Bills 23, No. 112).

Petition to John Otway, vice-chancellor, dated 4 Sept., 1662, from Samuel Barker of South Luffenham, gent., and Elizabeth his wife, only child of Augustine Wildbore, D.D., late vicar of Lancaster, deceased, and administratrix of his goods.—Dr. Wildbore, said the petitioners, was vicar of Lancaster in May, 1641, and was expelled in February 1642[-3] for his loyalty to the king, and the profits of the vicarage were sequestrated by the then late powers. Nehemiah Barnett was appointed by them as vicar and received the tithes, etc., for six years in Wildbore's lifetime and died in possession about October, 1648. He made a will, appointing George Toweleson and Henry Porter, esqs., executors. William Marshall was appointed to succeed him by the said late powers in 1648 or 1649, and received the profits for five or six years in Wildbore's lifetime. On 25 Dec., 1646, the Committee of Plundered Ministers ordered that Dr. Wildbore's children should have a clear fifth part of the tithes, rents, glebelands and Easter Book for their maintenance. After his death in April, 1654, the petitioner Elizabeth, his only child, was duly appointed administratrix, and she ought to have received the said fifth part accruing during his lifetime, such fifth part being worth £60 a year. Thus £360 was due during the time Barnett held the vicarage and the same for the time Marshall held it up to her father's death. Porter (Barnett's surviving executor) and Marshall having refused to pay anything, redress is asked for.

(Pal. of Lanc. Answers, 39, No. 18).

The answer of William Marshall, Doctor of Phisick, to the complaint of Samuel Barker and Elizabeth his wife.—After Wildbore had been instituted a writ of *Quare impedit* was brought against Wildbore, the late bishop of Chester, and Thomas Farrington, gent., by Tobias Knipe, Arthur Garner, John Kellett the elder and John Kellett the younger in the Court of Pleas of Lancaster and in Lent 1647 Knipe and Garner had judgment in their favour, recovering the presentation. John Kellett the elder was then dead, and the other had withdrawn. Wildbore had therefore never been lawful vicar. Such judicial proceedings had been

confirmed by a recent act of Parliament. George Tolnson of Lancaster purchased the advowson from the said Toby Knipe and William Knipe his son, and first presented one Mr. Strickland to the vicarage, and on his resignation presented this defendant (William Marshall), who entered on possession in June, 1649, and received the profits. He had never heard of the alleged order by the Committee of Plundered Ministers, and he himself received the profits not by any sequestration but as lawful incumbent, presented by the right patron, and instituted by those then exercising the government of the nation, although by usurpation. The yearly value of the vicarage while he held it was £200 a year.

(*Ibid.*, No. 26.)

The answer of Henry Porter.—He denied the validity of Wildbore's appointment on the same ground as Marshall. Tobias Knipe and William his son, having vindicated their right as lawful patrons, presented Nehemiah Barnett in 1646 or 1647 ; he was duly instituted and received the profits till his death in October 1647. He had been appointed to serve the cure in 1643, but did not receive the whole profits of the vicarage until he was duly presented as stated. This defendant (Porter) does not think Barnett had more than £100 a year during that earlier period, for pensions were paid also to those who officiated at Stalmine, Orton [Overton], Wyersdale and Gressingham, chapelries in the parish. After he became vicar, defendant does not believe his profits were more than £100 a year, owing to the disturbed state of the nation, " all goods and commodities in that country being at so low values as that some of the profits of the vicarage were farmed and set at almost half the rate they have been set for at other times." Defendant does not remember what the whole estate of Barnett came to, but after debts, etc., were paid, only about £230 of personal estate remained, of which defendant, who was only one of the executors, received about £80 ; he kept for a year one of Barnett's three young children, and paid the £80 to the other executor. He pleaded for the benefit of the act of Oblivion.

ABSTRACTS OF DEEDS RELATING TO THE SALE OF PEWS IN ST. NICHOLAS'S CHURCH, LIVERPOOL.

By Henry Peet, M.A., F.S.A.

In January, 1912, when the parish offices, Brownlow Hill, Liverpool, were being overhauled, I found a number of deeds relating to the sale of pews in the parish church, together with many other ecclesiastical documents for which the Poor Law authorities had no use, and which were about to be discarded and probably burnt. Many of these documents have already been printed in the Appendix to the *Vestry Books*, and the originals are now in the safe at St. Nicholas's Church. The conveyance deeds of the pews, of which abstracts are here printed, are not only interesting to the antiquary, but may be of great use to the genealogist, as the references to Liverpool families of the 17th and 18th century are very numerous, and contain details of their histories not to be found elsewhere.

I.

Indenture made 2 June 1687 between the Worshipfull Peter Bold, Esquire, Maior of Leverpoole, and the Aldermen of the sd. Burrough on the one part and William Blundell of Leverpoole, marriner, of the other part, Reciteth, That whereas John by divine permission late Ld. Bishopp of Chester by his grant bearing date 23 February 1681 hath given licence and leave to the sd. maior and aldermen to build a loft or gallerie on the south side of the Chappell of Leverpoole to be seated and disposed of by the sd. maior &c. as they should think most convenient ; Now witnesseth that the sd. maior &c., in consideration of the great charges

and expence which the said William Blundell hath laid out in building of the said loft or gallerie and a seate therein, Have given and granted unto the said William Blundell his heirs and assignes All that seate by him erected on the said gallerie, containing foure foote in breadth to the front and in length southward seaven foote and sixe inches, and in possession of the said William Blundell or his assignes, adjoyning unto Mr. James Prescots seat on the east side and to George Griffiths seat on the west side; To have and to hold, etc., the said seat unto the said William Blundell, etc.

Witnesses: Robt. Seacome, Rich. Windell, Edw. Tarleton, James Barton, Thomas Sandiford.

II.

Sale of the moiety of two seats in the north east gallery by the Mayor and Aldermen to Joseph Briggs, mercer, 8 July, 1696. Printed in full in *Liverpool Vestry Books*, ii., 488. The corresponding deed to Reynolds is recited in No. V. below.

III.

Peregrine Gastrell, Esqre., official principal &c. to Samuel Ld. Bishop of Chester: Whereas in a business of Assignation and Confirmation of a certain seat or pew situate in the East Gallery of the parochiall Chapel of St. Nicholas in Liverpoole, containing in length three yards and a half and in breadth one yard and a half and next adjoining to a seat or pew of William Webster, Alderman, southwards, to a seat or pew of Mrs. Edward Tarleton eastwards, and to a new gallery lately erected by the Corporation northwards; which cause was lately promoted by Bryan Blundell of Liverpoole, Alderman, against all persons, &c. We did decree the said pew or seat to him the said Bryan Blundell as by our Act of Court on 26 Nov., 1730. We do now assign and confirm the said seat or pew unto the said Brian Blundell, &c. Dated at Chester, 11 December, 1730.

IV.

This Indenture made 29 August 1737 between Elizabeth Evered widow, relict and sole executrix of the last will of Joseph Briggs late of Liverpoole, mercer, deceased, her former husband, and the Rev. Henry Briggs, D.D., Rector of Holt in the county of Norfolk, clerk, and Grace his wife, who is daughter and sole heir-at-law of the said Joseph Briggs, of the one part and Benjamin Anyon of Liverpoole, ship-wright of the other part: Whereas by a Deed or

Grant dated 8 July 1696 [Deed II. above] made between Thomas Johnson junior, esquire, then Mayor of Liverpoole and the Aldermen, of the one part and the said Joseph Briggs of the other part reciting a certain general grant made by John, Lord Bishop of Chester, dated 23 February 1681 to the Mayor and Aldermen to build a gallery in the north-east end of the parochial chappell of Liverpoole to be disposed of by the said Mayor and Aldermen as they should think most convenient (which said gallery was built and seated accordingly) and that the said Joseph Briggs did at his own expense erect and build the moiety of the seats herein granted; They the said Mayor and Aldermen by virtue of the aforesaid general Grant and for the considerations before mentioned Did give and grant unto the said Joseph Briggs and his assigns one moiety or half of all that and those two several seats then erected and to be erected by the said Joseph Briggs and one William Reynolds since deceased on the loft or gallery adjoining on the east side to the seat then in possession of Alderman Thomas Tyrer or his assigns and now of Alderman George Tyrer, and on the west side to the seat then in possession of Hugh Langford and now of Henry Gamon, tallow chandler, the front seat containing in length seven foot and in breadth seven foot, the passage seat thereto containing in length seven foot and in breadth three foot one inch, To hold one moiety or half of the said two several seats unto the said Joseph Briggs and his assigns for ever, etc. And whereas the said Elizabeth Evered and the said Henry Briggs and Grace his wife are now possessed of the said moiety of the said two seats and have agreed to sell the same to the said Benjamin Anyon for the sum of Twenty one pounds. Now this Indenture witnesseth, etc.

[Signed] Elizabeth Evered X her mark.
Henry Briggs.
Grace Briggs.

Witnesses: William Briggs, Eliz. Bridges.

V.

This Indenture made 13 October 1739 between Peter Rainford the younger of Liverpoole, gardiner and Catherine his wife, formerly called Catherine Reynolds, widow and relict of Hugh Reynolds late of Liverpoole mariner deceased, and administratrix of William Reynolds son and heir of the said Hugh Reynolds, of the one part and Benjamin Anyon of Liverpoole, shipwright, of the other

part: Whereas by a certain deed or grant dated 8 July 1696 made between Thomas Johnson, junior, esquire then Major of Liverpoole and the Aldermen of the said Burrough of the one part and William Reynolds, then of Liverpoole, mariner, of the other part reciting that whereas John, Lord Bishop of Chester, had given licence dated 23 February 1681 to the said Mayor and Aldermen to build a loft or gallary in the north east end of the chappell of Liverpoole to be disposed of as they should think most convenient (which said gallary was built accordingly): They the said Mayor and Aldermen by virtue of the aforesaid grant did give and grant unto the aforesaid William Reynolds and his assigns one moiety or half of all that and those two seats erected by the said William Reynolds and Joseph Briggs late of Liverpoole, mercer, deceased on the said loft or gallary adjoining on the east side then in the possession of Alderman Thomas Tyrer and now of Alderman George Tyrer, and on the west side of the seat then in possession of Hugh Langford and now or late in possession of Henry Gamon, tallow chandler, the front seat containing in length 7 ft. and in breadth 7 ft., the passage seat there containing in length 7 ft. and in breadth 3 ft. 1 in.: To hold one moiety or half part of the said two severall seats unto the said William Reynolds and his assigns forever; Whereas the said Peter Rainford and Catherine his wife are possessed of a moiety of the said two seats and have agreed to sell the same to the said Benjamin Anyon for £21 now this indenture witnesseth etc.

[Signed] PETER RAINFORD,
KATHERINE RAINFORD.

Witnesses: Thomas Calley, J. Prior Clayton.

VI.

Indenture made 21 March 1746 between Sarah Worthington of Ormskirk, widow, Richard Barton of the same place, Malster, and Elizabeth his wife. (which sd. Sarah and Elizabeth are daughters of Elizabeth Livesey late of Liverpool but afterwards of Ormskirk, widow, deceased and also together with Thomas Livesey her son executors and devisees under her last Will) of the one part and William Whalley of Liverpool, merchant, of the other part: Whereas the sd. Elizabeth Livesey widow being possessed of a certain seat or pew in the East Gallery of the Chappell of Liverpool (comanally called the old church) heretofore erected at the equal expense of Sir Thomas Johnson and

Mr. Edmund Livesey deceased, being situate between the pew or seat late of Mr. John Wareing deceased and the pew late of John Lyon, marriner deceased, and Anne Williamson widow did by her last Will in writing bearing date on or about 13 December 1743 give and dispose of the sd. seat or pew to her sd. son and daughters Thomas, Sarah and Elizabeth each a fourth part and to the children of her son Edward another fourth part, as by the sd. in part recited Will it doth more fully appear, And the sd. William Whalley having come to an agreement with the sd. Richard Barton for the purchase of his sd. wife's sd. fourth part and also with the sd. Sarah Worthington for her fourth part at the rate of £10 10s. each share, Now this Indenture witnesseth, &c.

[Signed] Sarah Worthington.
Ricd. Barton.
Eliz. Barton.

Witnesses: Thos. Radcliff, Staw. Gill.

VII.

This Indenture made 17th November 1756 between Thomas Antrobus of Liverpoole, surgeon, and Katherine his wife (which said Katherine is executrix of the last Will of Isabell James late of Liverpoole, widow deceased, who was the sole executrix of the last Will of Ann Williamson late of Liverpoole widow deceased, formerly Ann Moon, widow, and which said Katherine is surviving devisee in the sd. last Will of the sd. Ann Williamson of the premises hereinafter mentioned) of the one part and Thomas Ward of Liverpoole, marriner, of the other part: Whereas the sd. Thomas Antrobus and Katherine his wife are now lawfully possessed unto a moiety or half of the seat or pew hereinafter mentioned by virtue of a Grant made by the mayor and bailiffs of the Bgh. and corpn. of Liverpoole unto William Litherland late of Liverpoole, mercer, deceased bearing date on or about 15 October 1683 and of severall mesne grants or assignments derived under the sd. original grant, whereby the sd. moiety became legally granted and assigned over unto the sd. Ann Williamson decd.; And they the said Thomas Antrobus and Katherine his wife have agreed to sell the sd. moiety unto the sd. Thomas Ward for £40: Now this Indenture witnesseth . . . . agree to sell the westardmost moiety or one half of all that seat or pew in the gallery over the north chancell at the east end of the church or parochiall chappell in Liverpoole, on the east side of the seat there late belonging to Alderman

Thomas Johnson and now to William Whaley, containing ten foot in length and four foot six inches in breadth, and all right, title, &c.

[Signed] Tho. Antrobus.
Catherine Antrobus.

Witnesses: Edwd. Rimer, Robt. Richmond.

VIII.

This Indenture made 17 April 1759 between Nicholas Christian of Ramsey in the Isle of Man, merchant, and Catherine his wife of the one part and John Brownell of Liverpoole, gentleman, of the other part. In consideration of the sum of Thirty one pounds ten shillings to the said Nicholas Christian paid by the said John Brownell they the said Nicholas Christian and Catherine his wife have sold, etc., to the said John Brownell all that seat or pew situate in the west gallery in the chapel of St. Nicholas in Liverpoole, eastwards adjoining to a seat formerly of one Mary Gibson, westward to a seat of Jane Harper widow, northward to the north wall and southward to the south isle of the said gallery; in length eleven feet and in breadth 3 feet; and now in the possession of the said Nicholas Christian or undertenants; which was formerly granted by Faculty dated 17 June 1727 to John Christian late of James Street in Liverpoole deceased and by him devised to the said Catherine Christian along with all his real estate there, who hath levyed a fine of the said premises and declared the uses to the said Nicholas Christian in fee and all the estate, &c., of them the said Nicholas Christian and Catherine his wife or either of them to the said seat; To have and to hold the said seat, &c., unto the use of him the said John Brownell &c.

[Signed] Nicholas Christian.
Catherine Christian.

Witnesses: Thomas Callow, G. W. Procter.

IX.

Samuel Peploe, official Principal &c. of Edmund, Lord Bishop of Chester: Whereas in a certain cause of confirming a certain seat or pew situate in the West Gallery of the Chapel of St. Nicholas in Liverpoole adjoining eastward to a seat heretofore of Mary Gibson and now of Edward Dean, westward to a seat heretofore of Jane Harper, widow and now of Richard Harper, northward to the north wall and southward to the south isle or alley of the said gallery, containing in length eleven feet and in breadth three feet,

Promoted by John Brownell, gentleman a parishioner and inhabitant of the said parish against all manner of persons in general &c., and Lawrence Brannigan for his interest specially intervening, the Revd. Abel Ward, clerk, M.A., our lawful surrogate, did decree the said seat or pew to be continued to him for the purpose hereafter mentioned as by the Act of Court made on Thursday 12 July 1759. We therefore confirm the said seat to the said John Brownell and his family so long only as they continue parishioners and inhabitants of the said parish. Dated at Chester 31 July 1759.

HUGH SPEED, Dep. Reg.

Thos. Store, proctor.

X.

Indenture made 1st June 1767 between Richard Golightly, shipwright and Thomas Golightly, wine merchant ; All that pew situated on the north side of the middle gallery at the east end of the Parochial Chapel of Our Lady and St. Nicholas and at the top higher end or most eastwardly part of the same and next to the wall at the top higher end or most eastwardly part of the north side of the middle gallery, containing in breadth from east to west five feet (the window there excluded) or thereabouts, and in length or depth from north to south eight feet five inches and now occupied by Mr. Golightly or by Mrs. Cobham of Liverpool, widow, as his undertenant, &c. In consideration of the sum of sixty pounds, &c.

[Signed] RICHARD GOLIGHTLY.
THOMAS GOLIGHTLY.

Witnesses : Wm. Pickance, Jno. Lawson.

XI.

Sale of a Pew by Dr. Charles Morton to Mrs. Susannah Metcalf, 1 February 1773. Printed in full in our *Transactions*, lxxi, 44.

XII.

This Indenture made 13th July, 1773, between Jonathan Ward of Liverpool, bricklayer, and Mary his wife of the first part, Jane Ball widow of Liverpool of the second part, and Charles Ward of Liverpool, gentleman, son of the said Jonathan Ward and Mary his wife and nephew of the said Jane Ball, of the third part : Whereas the said Jonathan Ward in right of his wife and the said Jane Ball are now seized to the seat or pew hereinafter described for the joint lives of them the said Mary Ward and Jane Ball and after the death of the shortest liver the survivor of them

will be absolutely entitled to the inheritance thereof in fee; and being unwilling to let the said pew go out of their family but being desirous that the same shall continue therein, have agreed to convey the same to the said Charles Ward; Now in consideration of the natural love etc. and also in consideration of the sum of 5*s*. apiece to them paid by the said Charles Ward they the said Jonathan Ward and Mary his wife and Jane Ball have sold and transferred by these presents all that seat or pew situate in the north gallery of the Chapel of St. Nicholas and Our Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary, being one of the front seats of the said gallery, bounded on the east end by the pew of Mr. Farrington, on the west side by the pew of [blank] and at the back by the aisle or passage leading along the said north gallery; which pew is now in the possession of them the said Jonathan Ward and Jane Ball etc.

[Signed] Jonathan Ward his mark.
Mary Ward.
Jane Ball.

Witnesses: John Oddie, Thos. Rideing, Thos. Bailey.

XIIIa.

This Indenture made 14th January 1782 between Charles Ward of Doncaster, plasterer, only acting executor of the last will of Charles Ward late of Liverpool, gentleman, deceased, of the one part and William Edwards of Liverpool, gentleman, of the other part: Whereas by Indenture bearing date 13th July 1773 made between Jonathan Ward, then of Liverpool, bricklayer, and Mary his wife, both since deceased, of the first part, Jane Ball, then of Liverpool widow, also since deceased, of the second part and Charles Ward deceased of the third part [recites the transfer of the pew and its position as in Deed No. XII.]: Whereas the said Charles Ward deceased by his last will dated on or about 8 September 1778 bequeathed unto the children of his son the said Charles Ward the party hereto and of his cousin Mary Fogg of Liverpool his seat in the north gallery of St. Nicholas Church amongst them all share and share alike to take as joint tenants and of his said will the said Charles Ward nominated his said son Charles Ward the party and his wife Alice Ward his sole executor and executrix; and whereas the said Charles Ward departed this life after the making of his said will without altering the same And he the said Charles Ward the party hath alone proved the said will in the Consistory Court at Chester And whereas the children of the said

Mary Fogg departed this life before the death of him the said Charles Ward the testator, whereby the estate and interest of the said children of the said Mary Fogg in the said pew became lapsed and the same vested only in the children of the said Charles Ward ; And whereas the said Charles Ward the party as the father of his children these devisees under the said will hath come to an agreement with the said William Edwards of Liverpool for the sale to him of the said pew for the sum of £60 : Now this Indenture witnesseth etc. that in consideration of the sum of £60 paid by the said William Edwards to him the said Charles Ward to be by him the said Charles Ward applied for the use of all his children (the pew is now in the actual holding or possession of Mr. William Naylor as undertenant) ; And lastly the said Charles Ward hereby appoints in his place and stead Thomas Rideing and Henry Penington, both of Liverpool, gentlemen, his true and lawful attorneys, etc.

[Signed] CHARLES WARD.

Witness : Thomas Rideing, Hy. Penington.

XIIIb.

Bond of Indemnity, dated 14 Jan. 1782, Charles Ward to William Edwardes, bound in the sum of £120 against claim any of the children of Charles Ward may make on his Pew.

XIIIc.

Deed appointing and authorizing power of attorney (dated 14 Jan. 1782) appointing William Lyon, Joseph Lyon, John Manley, Henry Townley Ward, Richard Shaw and Thomas Hutton Attornies of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, jointly and severally or to any other Attorney of the same court to appear for him (Charles Ward of Doncaster plaisterer) in an action for debt at the Suit of William Edwards of Liverpool.

XIV.

Sale of a Pew by Mrs. Susannah Metcalf to Nicholas Crook and Ellis Lorimer, Churchwardens of the Parish of Liverpool, 15 August 1798. Printed in full in *Vestry Books*, ii., 489.

XV.

WILL OF JOHN CHRISTIAN, 1739.

John Christian of Liverpoole gent. I give unto my niece Catharine Corlett, the eldest daughter of my sister Catharine wife of Patrick Corlett of the Isle of Man, my copyhold

messuages lands and tenements situate in West Derby in or near Clubmoor and Pilch Lane her heirs and assigns for ever. I give unto Catharine Corlett the eldest daughter of my said sister all my messuages etc. in Liverpoole during my estate therein (the interest of my wife during her life to be allowed her); subject nevertheless and I do hereby charge the several messuages etc. in West Derby and Liverpoole (except that my estate of Clubmoor aforementioned) with the payment of the clear sum of £10 yearly to be paid unto my said sister Catharine Corlett during her life and also with the payment of £10 unto Bryan Blundell gent. for the use of the poor children in the charity school in Liverpoole and also with the payment of £10 to Elizabeth wife of Robert Edwards of Liverpoole I also give unto my niece Ann Corlett the second daughter of my said sister Catharine Corlett and her heirs all my copyhold messuage etc. in Thomas Lane in West Derby I further give unto the said Ann all my houses and gardens situate in Douglas in the Isle of Man, paying 40*s.* yearly unto Margaret my half-sister during her life and the sum of £40 at the death of the said Margaret to her eldest son provided he lived to the age of 21 years otherwise no payment of the said sum to be made. Also I give to my niece Margaret Corlett, third daughter of my said sister Catharine Corlett, and her heirs all my messuage &c. in Little Woolton. I also give unto my dear and loving wife all the wrought plate of which she was possessed before her marriage to me, together with my best feather bed and also two standing beds which belonged to her before our marriage. And the remainder of my real and personal estate after payment of my debts, legacies and funeral expenses, I give unto my said niece Catharine Corlett. The Rev. Anthony Halsall of Great Crosby, clerk, and the said Patrick Corlett of the Isle of Man to be executors; he gives them £5 a piece. Directs that his nieces shall not marry without the consent and approbation of his executors.

Dated 6 January 1738-9. Proved at Chester 24 February, 1738-9.

Notes on back of the Will: Cath. baptized 27 Oct. 1728. Ann, baptized 21 February 1729-30. Margt. baptized 16 February 1731-2. Ann married 1749 to Joseph Richmond of Liverpool. Margt. unmarried.

THE LOST MANOR OF THIRNBY.

By W. H. Chippindall.

WHEN the Domesday Survey was made, in the year 1086, the manor of Thirnby appears as dependent on the lordship of Whittington, and with other late possessions of Tostig was in the king's hand. After this date no more is heard of this manor. Yet some slight evidence regarding it has come to notice lately and the following attempt to locate it is founded thereon.

The possession of a manor would give rise to a family name and a family of " de Thirneby " has been discovered in the township of Lowther, where they seem to have settled late in the 12th century,[1] probably receiving lands there in compensation for the loss of their lordship in Thirnby, as on the formation of the county of Westmorland the manors of Middleton, Barbon, Casterton and a *part* of Thirnby were included in that county and taken away from what had been known as Amounderness. The other part of Thirnby was added to the manor of Whittington.

If a large scale map, showing the boundaries of the townships of Kirkby Lonsdale and Whittington, be examined, it will be seen that the boundary line from the river Lune, westward, proceeds in a series of *straight* lines up to a point about 400 yards west of Biggins Park fence, cutting across the ancient fields so as to leave parts of those fields in Westmorland and parts

[1] Cumberland and Westmorland A. & A. Soc. *Transactions*, N.S. xvi., 113.

in Lancashire. Now all ancient boundaries followed some natural feature or ancient fence or dike, curving and bending as the particular feature necessitated; hence it may be assumed that this straight-lined boundary is a modern one and arose through the necessity of marking out the division of the ancient manor of Thirnby.

The family of " de Thirneby " ended in three co-heiresses[1] who married *c.* 1220-1230 as follows: Isabel married Robert de Alneto [Dawney], Sarra married Henry de Haverington, and Alice married Richard de Copeland, all bearing names associated with the holding of land in Whittington and Kirkby Lonsdale townships. Further, in the inquest on the death of William de Lindsay in 1283,[2] we find " David de Haverington and Ralph de Patton hold Thirnby and render 66*s.* 8*d.* yearly; it is worth 10*l.*" Also " Alan de Coupeland holds the fourth part of Kirkby Lonsdale and renders 12*d.* yearly; it is worth 100*s.*" But before this, in Hilary term, 14 Henry III., 1230, there had been a plea between John de Kirkby and Richard de Copeland as to how much land Richard de Copeland held in the vill of Kirkby Lonsdale.[3] The result of the trial is not on record but is evident from the above-quoted inquest on William de Lindsay; and it is submitted that this fourth part of the vill of Kirkby Lonsdale is the Westmorland part of the old manor of Thirnby.

The land lying along both sides of the boundary here was known as " Thirnby " until the end of the seventeenth century if not later, and is mentioned in the will of John Hudson of Kirkby

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Lancs. Inq. and Ext.* (Record Soc.), i., 256.

[3] Farrer, *Cockersand Chartul.* (Chetham Soc.), 913*n.*

Lonsdale, dated 22 or 24 April, 1615,[1] proved at Kirkby Lonsdale on the 6 July following, in which he leaves to his son John Hudson "the lands and tenant-right in Thyrneby which [I devised] unto him before as men[tioned in a] dede beringe date the xixth day of April 1615 lyeinge jointly toge[ther and in the occupation of] William Harryson and Edward Bainbrigge whereof s[ome part] of the saide ground in Thyrneby aforesaide lyeing and d . . .[? being] [wi]thin the countye of West[morland] and the [other part within the] countye of Lancaster which was bought of the right [wor]shipfull Lady Elizabeth Curwen."

There is also a reference to Thirnby in the Kirkby Lonsdale Court Leet Rolls on 22 April, 1667, viz.: "We find Mr. John Foxcroft dead since last Court and Jane Foxcroft his daughter next heir to his customary estate in Thirnby of the yearly rent of 4*d.*" This John Foxcroft was a lawyer, and acted as steward of the manor of Kirkby Lonsdale in 1666; he lived at Holme House opposite Sellet Mill in Whittington township. In the same court rolls, under date 28 February 1669-70, is recorded a surrender by Richard Bayliffe of Biggins to his son Edward Bayliffe of various fields "and a close called Little Thirneby."

Nowadays Thirnby Wood, overlooking Sellet Mill from the north, and Thirnby Well (the source of the mill stream for Sellet Mill) are the only names left to indicate the position of this ancient manor, and I am inclined to believe that Sellet Mill and Holme House are all that is left of the ancient hamlet of Thirnby; but the outer boundaries of this manor appear to be hopelessly lost.

[1] The will is mutilated and the words within square brackets are an attempted restoration.

STRAY NOTES.

THE HARRINGTON ESTATE IN LIVERPOOL.—Ralph Peters, gentleman, aged 39, in 1715 deposed that about a year before he had purchased from Edmund Taylor and James Chadwick the reversions of houses in Pool Lane and Redcross Street and an opening out of John Street into Harrington Street, being of the inheritance of John Harrington, esq., or Charles Harrington or Dorothy his mother. The depositions were taken at the "Golden Lion," an inn kept by John Seacombe. (Pal. of Lancaster Chancery Depositions, bdle. 145). In a different suit in the following year James Chadwick of Liverpool, yeoman, aged 52, deposed concerning a purchase of bricks for the late John Cleveland; this time the depositions were taken at a house called the "Woolpack," kept by John Lathom. (*Ibid.*, 147.) This house was Jane Wrench's in 1725. (*Ibid.*, 155.)

SLITTING MILLS AT BIRKACRE.—In 1754 John Chadwick of Croxteth, gentleman, and Thomas and James his sons, stated that John and Thomas had for some years been partners in the trade or mystery of manufacturing pig-iron into bars, hoops, rods, etc., at slitting mills near Chorley called Birkacre mills; and about May 1747 and later they sent to William Houlcroft of Liverpool, white-cooper, parcels of hoop-iron, etc., to be disposed of on commission, to the value of £300 and more. John Chadwick had recently made over his moiety to his son James, who thus became partner with his brother Thomas. They had long wanted Houlcroft to come to an account with them, but he had put the matter off, and had died intestate; and they now therefore made a claim for the amount due to them from the estate against his widow and son, Alice Houlcroft and James Houlcroft, who had come into possession. In the following year, John Chadwick having died, the plaint was renewed by the executors of his will—his widow Ellen, and his sons Thomas and James Chadwick. (Pal. of Lancaster Chancery Bills, vol. 80.) The connection of these Chadwicks with Croxteth is further shown by the fact that one of the "lives" in a Molyneux lease of 1746 was John son of John Chadwick of Birkacre, aged 18 (Claughton Chapel deeds).

CURATES OF HALE CHAPEL.—William Sherlock of Farnworth, clerk, aged 70, in 1633 deposed that he knew Hale chapel in Childwall. He had known Edward Baguley, who was curate at Hale, and succeeded him about 47 years previously, continuing as curate for 12 or 13 years, during all which time he administered the sacraments, married, buried the dead, and performed all things pertaining to a church or parochial chapel. He also knew Thomas Lydiate, Mr. Hall, Mr. Janyon, William Sherlock (his own son), Mr. Kenwrick and George Barlowe (plaintiff in the case) among others who in their several times were curates at Hale. He himself had been placed there by George Ireland, esq., and Mr. Kenwrick by Sir Gilbert Ireland. Another witness (aged 80) remembered William Crosse, Edward Baguley, William Sherlock the elder, Robert Swan, John Janion, Thomas Lydiate, Mr. Hall, William Sherlock the younger and Edward Kenwrick. Yet another remembered Mr. Whitfield, before Crosse. Another said a Mr. March came between Baguley and Sherlock. (Pal. of Lanc. Depositions, bdle. 30.) This is an important addition to the list of curates in *V. C. H. Lancashire*, iii., 149.

BLUNDELL OF LITTLE CROSBY.—Henry Blundell, who was in possession of the manor 1421 to 1456, had two brothers, John and Robert. The former seems to be the John Blundell of Crosby who with Katherine widow of Ellis de Formeby (probably his wife) claimed a debt of 70*s.* from Thomas Lathom, a drover, and Robert Lathom in 1442-3 (Chester Plea Roll 148, m. 34.) John's son Thomas became vicar of Brackley, 1462-1489; and was also rector of Eydon 1469-1489, and vicar of Stotesbury 1473-1486, all in Northamptonshire. (Baker, *Northants.*, i., 505, 575, 691.) See *V. C. H. Lancs.*, iii., 88, note 2.

THE KIRKBY FONT.—The following is one of the alternative interpretations (see p. 99) of the carvings on this interesting font. On one side appears the Temptation and Fall, with the cherub with his flaming sword driving Adam and Eve from the paradise of pleasure. The other side is occupied chiefly with a group of seven "priests," telling of Redemption by the preaching of the gospel. These figures naturally have St. Peter in the centre; his brother apostle St. Paul stands on his right, being indicated by the sword and the book of epistles, and on St. Peter's other side is the local apostle St. Paulinus (or St. Chad), vested with the pallium as Archbishop of York. The front pendant of the pallium hangs down almost to the

point of the chasuble. A local devotion to St. Paulinus is shown by the dedication at Walton (*Trans.*, lxxi., 91). The remaining four, judging by their number, may be the four evangelists; three seem to carry their gospel books, and the other, who has first place, may be meant for St. Matthew, handling his bag of tax-money. The last figure may indicate, by its diminutive size, the youth of St. John. The series of seven ends with a representation of St. Michael's victory over the serpent, through whose lying mouth he thrusts his spear. As the carvings go completely round the font, St. Michael and the cherub come next to one another, though they are at the opposite ends of the story.

WIGAN CHURCH *c.* 1580.—In one of Erdeswicke's MSS. is the following brief note: "Mr. Stokes told me that Wiggan in Lancashyre, the Churche therof was of thre sundry buyldings and repayrings: as was to him by anncyent men proved: who had seen in the last repayring therof, fragments of idols, some of the Romayn fetures and symmetry, some of the Saxons: etc." (Harl. MS. 473, fo. 2.).

LONGWORTH OF ORMSKIRK.—John Longworth of Ormskirk, gentleman, was a man of some prominence in the district in the first half of the eighteenth century. A plea by James Magrath of Aughton in 1759 and later gives information as to his descendants, he having died. The first defendants were his son John Longworth and grandson John (eldest son of John). In 1761, however, another grandson, James Longworth, became defendant, for John the son had died on 1 May, 1761, and John the grandson, who was of tender years, had followed on 24 June, his heir being his brother the said James. Somewhat later were added Mary Longworth widow of the senior John (who had had a first wife Margaret); the executors of John the son, viz., Trifosia Longworth his widow and William Aspinall; and Catherine, Margaret, Betty, Nancy, Jane, Bella and Mary, other children of John Longworth the son. (Pal. of Lancaster Chancery Bills, 80, nos. 13, 41, 48.)

ROCHDALE GLEBE.—In a disputed case in 1670 a deposition was made by Robert Bathe, clerk, lately vicar of Rochdale, aged 65. He had been incumbent of the benefice for about 23 years, and said in his time the tenants of the glebe had been accustomed to alienate, assign or exchange

their tenements, the ancient rents being paid. (Pal. of Lancaster Chancery Depositions, bdle. 84.)

Dr. Kuerden.—Richard Keurden, doctor in Physick, aged 55, was deponent in a Chancery suit in 1679, stating that he paid a rent of 1*d.* called the " Jerusalem rent " to Lord Molyneux for lands in Cuerden, formerly paid to the Order of Jerusalem. Many others in Cuerden also paid Jerusalem rents. (Pal. of Lancaster Chancery Depositions, bdle. 99.)

Hambleton Chapel.—Roger Sherburn, clerk, aged 40, was in 1653 described as preacher at this chapel, the history of which is obscure. (Pal. of Lancaster Chancery Depositions, bdle. 49.)

Philip Bennet.—One William Bennet was rector of Brindle from 1603 to 1629, when he died. His wife had been buried there in 1617. In 1688, James Gerard, the sexton, then aged 66, said that he remembered Mr. Bennet's burial ; he was then a schoolboy, seven or eight years old. He knew also Philip Bennet his son, and John Bennet, a younger brother of William. As Philip is unusual as a Christian name it seems not unreasonable to identify him with the Philip son of William Bennet of Lancashire, educated at Rivington School, who entered Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1625, and took the B.A. degree in 1629;[1] and further to identify him with the Philip who was minister of Ulverston in 1646 and of Cartmel in 1649, being ejected from this cure in 1662 for nonconformity. (Pal. of Lancaster Chancery Depositions, bdle. 117.) In 1654 he was attacked by two Quakers, Edward Burroughs and Francis Howgill, in their " Answers to Several Queries put forth . . . by P. Bennett," " who calls himself a minister of Christ, but is found a deceiver."

Early Rectors of Woodchurch.—In a suit between John Griffin senior and John Dounvill the elder in 1343 concerning the presentation to this rectory, the following statement of the patrons and rectors was put in. Randle de Praers was seised of the advowson in the time of Henry III., and presented Randle de Meynwaryng ; Randle's son Thomas de Praers in the same reign presented Ralph de Caldwelle. He was succeeded in the time of Edward I. by Richard de Thicknes, presented by Randle son of the above Thomas de Praers. This Randle also presented

[1] J. Peile, *Christ's College Register*, i., 368.

John le Teu in the same reign, but dying without issue he was succeeded as patron by his brother Richard, who presented Adam de Wetenhale in the time of Edward I. (This is an error; it should be Edward II.) The vacancy was caused by Adam's death. Griffin claimed by gift of Thomas de Praers, brother and heir of Randle son of the Richard first named, and his claim is supported by a deed in the Recognizance Rolls, dated 1338, by which he was to exercise the patronage until Thomas's death, which happened in 1349. Plaintiff accordingly recovered. (Chester Plea Roll 55, m. 1d.)

Cheshire Men in the Scottish Expedition of 1544. —In a case in the Exchequer Court of Chester in 1584 (Starkie *v.* Yonge and others, concerning Knight's Grange) one George Dickyns, gent., of Chorleye in Cheshire, aged 63, deposed that in the latter end of April and after a good piece of Lent was spent in 35 Henry VIII., he was at the New Castell uppon Tyne as they journeyed toward Scotland to Lyethe and Edenburghe; and there then did see in the said town Edmund Trafford deceased, then esquire and after made knight at Liethe, who (deponent) did then serve William Ratclief, Edmund Savage deceased, then esquires and after made knights also at Liethe with examinate's master. Alexander Massie was in Newcastell at the time aforesaid, who there was deponent's chamber-fellow. And he thinketh that John Domvile and Robert Shawe did then attend upon the said William Ratcliffe. To his remembrance and as he thinketh the said persons and every of them did then make their abode in Newcastell aforesaid by the space of one month together or thereabouts. (Exchequer Bills, Chester, bundle 12.) The English army appears to have assembled at Newcastle in March and April, 1544, sailing for Scotland about the 1st May.

Sporting Rights.—A petition of John Oldton in October, 1583, to Robert earl of Leicester, chamberlain of Chester, complains of a breach of the statute of 23 Elizabeth against hunting and hawking over lands on which corn is standing or growing. "So it is, right honorable lord, that one William Mynshull, gent., the said statute nothing regarding, hath diverse and sundry times since the feast of St. John Baptist last past (the certain days whereof your orator doth not perfectly remember) hawked and hunted with a hawk and spaniels in a certain closure of land of your poor orator lying in Mynshull . . . then sown with oats and the same therein growing, to the great destruction and spoil

not only of your said orator's corn and grass therein growing, but also thereby your orator's hedges were broken down and the gates of the said field thrown open to the lanes and highways, whereby sheep and cattle depasturing in the said lanes and highways entered into your orator's corn and grass to the great hindrance and damage of your poor orator. And your said orator very gently required the said William Mynshull to desist and leave off his said misdemeanours and thereupon showed him the said statute . . . Yet, that notwithstanding, right honorable lord, the said William Mynshull of his perverse malice and very despite, accompanied with divers other persons—that is to say, Elinor Mynshull wife of Thomas Mynshull of Erdesweeke, esq., Gertrude Mynshull wife of the said William Mynshull, Richard Mynshull brother of the said William Mynshull, John Walker gent., and one William Rylandes yeoman . . .—did upon Tuesday the tenth day of September last past eftsoons enter into your orator's said closure of ground wherein the said oats were then growing, and therein the said William Mynshull did then hawk and hunt with a sparrowhawk and a great number of spaniels . . . . And albeit the said Elinor Mynshull, Richard Mynshull, John Walker and William Rylandes be ready and willing to compound and make full satisfaction . . . yet the said William Mynshull and Gertrude his wife wilfully standing in their evil doing, do as yet utterly refuse and deny to pay to your said orator the said forfeiture of 40*s*. . . . although they have been sundry times gently reminded . . . ". The complainant therefore asked for a **subpœna** against Mynshull. The accused denied that he was "culpable of the supposed matters." (Chester Exchequer Bills, bdle. 11.)

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1921.

PRESENTED JANUARY 19, 1922.

The table annexed exhibits the Society's membership on January 1st, 1922.

MEMBERSHIP.

	Annual.	Life.	Associate.	Honorary.	Total.
1st Jan., 1921	187	10	—	8	205
1st Jan., 1922	177	8	—	10	195
Gain	—	—	—	2	—
Loss	10	2	—	—	10

Having regard to the increased subscription, the financial difficulties through which the country is passing and the numerous deaths among our members, no less than eight, it is matter for congratulation that our numbers are so well maintained.

The Council desires to express regret for the deaths of the following members, viz. : Mr. John Hargreaves, Senior, Mr. T. T. Wainwright, Mr. J. W. Alsop, B.A., Mr. W. T. Rogers, Mr. J. T. Thompson, Mr. T. W. Blundell, Mr. E. H.W. Butterworth, and for that of Miss Watt, a most generous contributor to the funds of the Society.

During the past year fourteen new members have been elected and in this period nine meetings were held. The first, the Annual General Meeting, included a fine series of lantern slides, illustrative of items of archæological interest, while the fifth was, by kind permission of the Library, Museums and Arts Committee of the Corporation of Liverpool, held at the Reference Library, when a remarkable series of old local play-bills was exhibited.

No discoveries of archæological interest have been reported during the past year.

Volume 72 of the Society's *Transactions* is now in the hands of the members, and though somewhat less in size than recent numbers it contains several papers of considerable local interest. It is hoped that the next volume of the *Transactions* will be of more normal size.

The first summer meeting of the Session took place on 25th June, when the members visited Leasowe Castle, Bidston Church, and Bidston Hall. At Leasowe Castle, a former home of the Earls of Derby, the date stone 1593, with the Three Legs of Man, carved over a doorway in the tower, and the oak said to be from the Star Chamber, Westminster, with the heraldic badges of Henry VII., and Henry VIII. aroused much interest. Afterwards the members visited Bidston Church, where the Vicar (the Rev. T. M. Standring, M.A.) kindly showed them the Church, the registers, and Churchwardens' books. A visit was also paid to Bidston Hall, which was erected by the 6th Earl of Derby about 1620, and was for some time one of the Stanleys' residences.

The second summer meeting took place on 23rd July, when the members went from Liverpool by motor, *via* Warrington, Stretton, Great Budworth, and Holmes Chapel, to Moreton Old Hall, the finest example of black and white work in Cheshire. Next a visit was paid to Astbury Church, which is a splendid example of perpendicular architecture. After visiting Congleton, the quaint half-timbered building of Marton Church, with its squat tower, was viewed, and a visit was paid to the black and white church at Siddington, part of which belongs to the Tudor period. The return journey was made via Redesmere, Capesthorne Hall, Monks Heath, Knutsford, and Warrington to Liverpool.

The Society wishes to return thanks to the Editors of the following papers for their kindness in inserting notices of the various meetings held by the Society:—*Birkenhead and Cheshire Advertiser, Birkenhead News, Chester Courant,*

Cheshire Observer, Liverpool Courier and *Liverpool Daily Post.*

LIST OF NEW MEMBERS ELECTED, 1921.

MEMBER.	PROPOSER.
Edwin Haigh, C.C.	Hon. Secretary.
F. E. Priestley.	Hon. Secretary.
Francis Caldwell, C.B.E., M.V.O.	J. P. Rylands.
E. H. Rideout, B.Sc.	E. Cuthbert Woods.
F. P. Dodgson.	F. L. Cheers.
Geo. R. Norris.	S. Saxon Barton, Junior.
A. C. Livesey, A.M.I.E.E.	Jno. Livesey.
A. E. Watson, L.D.S.	F. W. Bailey.
Thos. White.	G. T. Shaw.
R. Wardman.	R. Stewart-Brown.
G. K. Bell.	F. C. Beazley.
D. L. Pilling.	F. C. Beazley.
Rev. Fredk. Blundell, O.S.B., F.S.A. Scot.	C. R. Hand.
Geo. W. Crowden.	R. Hyde Linaker.

PAPERS READ, 1921.

Jan. 20 Lantern Evening.
(*Arranged by the Photographic Committee*).

Feb. 10 "Early Coaching in Liverpool." By A. H. ARKLE, O.B.E. (Second Part).

,, 24 "Mediæval Carvings illustrating every-day life in England." By F. H. CROSSLEY, F.S.A.

Mar. 10 "The Carvings of Mediæval Musical Instruments at Manchester Cathedral." By The Rev. HENRY A. HUDSON, M.A., F.S.A.

,, 24 "The Palimpsest of Liverpool: Part I. Introduction, Rivers, Brooks and Watersheds." By F. C. LARKIN, F.R.C.S.

Apl. 7 "The Corporate Seal of Liverpool." By ROBERT GLADSTONE, B.C.L., M.A.
"An English Alabaster Statuette of the Blessed Virgin, of the 14th Century." By PHILIP NELSON, M.D., F.S.A.

Oct. 28 "Old Liverpool Play-bills." By G. T. SHAW.

Nov. 10 "Isaac Greene, a Lancashire Lawyer of the 18th Century." By R. STEWART-BROWN, M.A., F.S.A.

,, 24 "An English Mediæval Alabaster Panel of St. Erasmus." By PHILIP NELSON, M.D., F.S.A.
"Some Old Local Windmills." By C. R. HAND.

Dec. 8 "The Vanished Screens of the Nave and the Quin Parcloses in Manchester Cathedral." By the Rev. HENRY A. HUDSON, M.A., F.S.A.

REPORT OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN FOR THE YEAR 1921.

During the past session the library of the Society has been used extensively by members at the Society's meetings. 51 volumes have been issued, and 68 volumes and parts have been added. No binding has been done since 1914, and it is very important that binding be re-commenced.

The thanks of the Society are tendered to the following for their very kind donations of books to the library:

F. C. Beazley, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President—
Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, London, vol. xxxii.
Archælogia, vol. lxx.
The Antiquaries' Journal, parts i, ii, iii, iv, for 1921.

F. C. Larkin, Esq., F.R.C.S. Eng., Vice-President—
The Cheshire Sheaf, 3rd series, vol. xiv., Jan.-Dec., 1917.

F. H. Crossley, Esq., F.S.A.—
History of St. Peter's Church, Chester, by F. Simpson.

G. T. Shaw, Esq.—
The Chester Archæological Journal, vol. xiii., N.S., 1902.

J. J. Lewis, Esq.—
Catalogue of English Historical Embroideries in Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Hon. Librarian—
Lancashire, by F. H. Cheetham, F.S.A.

REGINALD THRELFALL BAILEY,
Hon. Librarian.

19*th January,* 1922.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year	....		....	210	16	7
Subscriptions	....		....	297	13	6
Donations :						
H. Peet, M.A., F.S.A., J.P.	10	0	0			
H. Lee, J.P.	3	13	6			
				13	13	6
Interest on Consols	....		....	7	9	8
Volumes of *Transactions* sold....	....		....	9	10	4
Bank Interest	....		....	7	5	10
Reserve Fund.—Consols £2 10s. per cent.						
(Scrip in hands of Hon. Treasurer) :—						
£144 3 8 Bought Aug. 8, 1898						
65 16 4 ,, Nov. 6, 1906						
12 14 10 ,, Aug. 16, 1907						
27 5 2 ,, Feb. 4, 1908						
50 0 0 ,, Jan. 31, 1913						
£300 0 0						
Scrip examined Jan. 5, 1922.						
Reginald Threlfall Bailey.						
Subscriptions in arrear, 1921 (6)	9	9	0			
Subscriptions paid in advance	8	8	0			
Bills due and payable by this Society	Nil.					

S. W. PHIPPS,
Hon. Treasurer.

£546 9 5

Expenditure.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rent, one year to June 30, 1922	10	10	0			
,, ,, ,, Bookcases	1	1	0			
				11	11	0
Rent,[1] stock-room (one-half)	....			2	10	0
Rates,[1] ,, ,, ...	....			1	12	5
Refreshments	....			12	11	2
Honorarium, Hon. Editor	13	2	6			
,, Hon. Secretary	13	2	6			
				26	5	0
Vol. LXXI. Illustrations	28	17	9			
,, R. & R. Clark, Ltd., Illustrations, Printing, Binding and Despatching....	177	2	3			
				206	0	0
Vol. LXXII. Indexing	5	0	0			
,, Robertson & Co., Illustrations, Printing, Binding and Despatching	130	11	8			
				135	11	8
Stock-keeper's fee	....		....	1	1	0
Postage on volumes sent from store	....		....	0	14	5
Printing, stationery and notices of meetings	....			30	4	2
Subscriptions to other Societies	....		....	4	3	0
Fire Insurance to March 25, 1922	....		....	0	8	0
Paid for one copy, Vol. LXX.	....		....	0	10	6
Lantern expenses	....		....	2	2	6
Advertisements	....		....	3	11	6
Postages—Hon. Secretary and Treasurer	....		....	3	10	0
Cheque book	....		....	0	10	0
				£442	16	4
Balance in bank	....		....	103	13	1
				£546	9	5

[1] Shared with Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire

Audited and found correct, *January 5th*, 1922,
Reginald Threlfall Bailey.

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1922.

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Publications of the Earthworks Committee.

The following may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary (Mr. Albany Major, 30 The Waldrons, Croydon) :—

SCHEME FOR RECORDING ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS AND FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES; revised edition, 1910, 23 pp. and 43 plans, illustrating the various classes of earthworks; price 1s. each; 12 copies, 7s. 6d.

REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE YEARS 1903 (First Report issued), 1905, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1914, and subsequent years; price 6d. (A single joint Report was issued for 1918-19).

The Hon. Secretary would be very glad to hear if any society or individual has spare copies of the Reports for 1904, 1906, 1910 *and* 1913, *and of Appendix I.* (1904) *and II.* (1905). *These Reports are out of print and very scarce.*

Meetings of Congress.

The Congress meets annually at the end of November in the apartments of the Society of Antiquaries of London, at Burlington House. Each affiliated society is invited to send two delegates, and to suggest for discussion any subject of general archæological importance.

Affiliation.

Societies wishing to become affiliated should communicate in the first instance with the Hon. Secretary of the Congress, Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton. The annual subscription is £1, payable in advance on July 1st. A great deal of unnecessary trouble will be avoided by using banker's orders, which will be supplied on application to the Assistant Treasurer.

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the Year ending 30th June, 1921

Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance, 1st July, 1920—		
At Bank	6 12 7	
In hand	16 6	
		7 9 1
Subscriptions, 1919-20 ...	6 0 0	
1920-21 ...	15 0 0	
		21 0 0
Publications, sale of—		
Earthworks Reports, 1918-19	34 6 11	
Scheme of Earthworks ...	1 11 3	
		35 18 2
Dividend on Consols ...		2 10 0
		£66 17 3

Expenditure	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Printing—		
Congress Report, 1919 (extra copies)	18 6	
Earthworks Report, 1918-19 ,, ,,	1 10 0	
Statement of Accounts ...	16 0	
		3 4 6
Archæological Index, 1913-17 ...		10 0 0
Honorarium, late Asst. Treasurer		5 0 0
Packing and Postage—		
Treasurer	1 10 6	
Earthworks Committee ...	1 12 0	
Printers	2 9	
		3 5 3
Stationery and Printing—		
Official, Harrison	19 0	
,, Earthworks Committee	1 15 6	
,, Card Index ...	1 5 0	
,, Asst. Treasurer ...	3 0	
,, Typewriting ...	2 0 0	
		6 2 6
Cheque Book		4 0
Petty Expenses		11 6
Balance—		
At Bank	35 18 0	
In hand	2 11 6	
		38 9 6
		£66 17 3

Liabilities	£ s. d.
Balance of Assets over Liabilities	126 15 8
	£126 15 8

Assets	£ s. d	£ s. d
Arrears of Subscriptions (estimated) ...		30 0 0
Earthworks Reports sold		3 5 8
Consols (at cost)		55 0 6
Cash at Bank	35 18 0	
,, in hand	2 11 6	
		38 9 6
		£126 15 8

NOTE.—No orders having been given prior to 30th June, 1921, for printing and despatch of the Congress and Earthworks Reports for 1920. the liability therefor does not appear in the Balance Sheet. The estimated cost will be £55.

W. PALEY BAILDON,
Honorary Treasurer, *pro. tem.*

Audited and found correct, 7th October, 1921,
GEORGE C. DRUCE.

Report of the Council, June 30th, 1921.

The financial position of the Congress continues to be satisfactory. The credit balance is £38 9s. 6d. Thanks are again due to Mr. G. C. Druce, F.S.A., for auditing the accounts.

It is with great regret that the Council records the death of Mr. George Clinch, who had for many years acted as Assistant Treasurer of the Congress and who had compiled the Archæological Index in recent years. Mr. Clinch's death, which occurred very soon after the last Meeting of Congress, resulted in certain changes to which Congress is asked to give effect by formal ratification. Dr.. Norman expressed to the Council his desire to resign the office of Hon. Treasurer ; the Council has accepted his resignation with regret, and recommends that Mr. Paley Baildon, F.S.A., be appointed Hon. Treasurer to succeed him. The work formerly done by Mr. Clinch is being carried on by Mr. A. E. Steel, who has given great help at a critical time in the affairs of the Congress.

No Societies have resigned and no new ones have been affiliated during the year.

The number of affiliated Societies is now 40. It is the desire of the Council to add to its numbers year by year until all the principal Archæological Societies of the Kingdom are included. By adopting this policy the Congress will not only increase its material resources and output, but will also be able to prove itself of greater use to each individual Society. With this latter object in view, the Council proposes for the consideration of Congress a new method of publishing its Annual Reports. It is proposed in future to condense, if necessary, the printed report of the proceedings at the Congress, and to print in addition a summary account of "The Year's Work in Archæology." This account will attempt to give a bird's-eye view of all important excavations and discoveries which have been made during the preceding calendar year, beginning with the year 1921. It will be bound up with the Report of the Earthworks Committee and will be sold to affiliated Societies at the lowest price compatible with the cost of production. It is hoped that this combined Report will prove interesting to individual members of Societies, and particularly to those workers who would like to know the latest archæological news from all parts of the country. Incidentally, printing, binding and distributing a single Report instead of two will be a measure of economy. The scheme can only succeed if it receives the practical support of affiliated Societies, who are asked to assist the Hon. Secretary in the very arduous work of compilation. It is suggested that they do this by sending him a sort of summary of progress during 1921 within the county or area they cover. Such summaries should only include the more important excavations and discoveries made

during the year within the area, whether by members of the Society or by others. Casual finds of importance should be included. It is not intended to forestall the full published accounts which will no doubt appear at a later date. Forms already exist suitable for entering these notes upon, and will be supplied, if required, on application to the Hon. Secretary. The method of compilation will thus be precisely similar to that so successfully employed in preparing the Earthworks Report, which will, of course, be continued as before.

According to rule the following six members retire from Council :—The Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, Dr. Philip Norman, Dr. Horace Round, Lord Crawford, Major Freer. In order to meet the wishes of affiliated Societies for more complete representation on Council, it is suggested that the following resolution should be adopted :—*That the six retiring members of Council shall not be eligible for re-election until a year has elapsed.* Affiliated Societies not already represented on Council are invited to suggest names of representatives likely to be able to attend Meetings of Council. Such names should be sent to the Hon. Secretary.

The Council wish to draw the attention of affiliated Societies to one aspect of relief-works for the unemployed. Wherever these involve disturbance of the soil, important archæological discoveries are certain to be made sooner or later, and equally certain to be lost or destroyed through ignorance, unless systematic supervision is organised in each area. The Council consider that this will form a suitable subject for discussion at the forthcoming Congress.

Report of the Proceedings at the 29th Congress.

The Twenty-ninth Congress was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries of London, at Burlington House, November 29th and 30th, 1921, under the Presidency of Sir Hercules Read, LL.D., President of the Society of Antiquaries.

The following Societies sent delegates :—

Society :	*Delegates :*
British Archæological Association	W. A. Cater (Hon. Research Secretary), Francis Weston
Royal Archæological Institute	G. C. Druce
Prehistoric Society of East Anglia	Guy Maynard (Hon. Secretary)
Society of Genealogists of London	Rev. C. Moor
Cambrian Archæological Association	W. J. Hemp, T. E. Morris

Society :	*Delegates :*
National Museum of Wales	Dr. D. R. Paterson, Dr. R. E. Mortimer-Wheeler
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland	Sir William Fry (Vice-President), E. W. Lynam
Berkshire Archæological and Architectural Society	Rev. P. H. Ditchfield (Hon. Secretary)
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society	Roland Austin (Hon. Secretary)
Buckinghamshire Archæological Society	Edwin Hollis, James Berry
Cambridge Antiquarian Society	Professor E. Prior, Cyril Fox
Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society	George Eyre Evans (Hon. Secretary)
Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society	T. H. B. Graham, R. G. Collingwood (Hon. Editor)
Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society	W. J. Andrew, P. H. Currey (Hon. Secretary)
Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club	His Honour Judge Udal, Canon J. C. M. Mansel-Pleydell
Essex Archæological Society	R. C. Fowler (Hon. Editor)
Hampshire Field Club and Archæological Society	William Dale (Hon. Secretary)
Kent Archæological Society	Aymer Vallance
Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society	George Bethell
Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society	Major Freer
Oxford Architectural and Historical Society	Professor J. L. Myres
Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society	H. St. George Gray (Secretary)
Suffolk Institute of Archæology	Rev. H. A. Harris (Hon. Secretary)
Surrey Archæological Society	M. S. Giuseppi, Arthur Bonner
Sussex Archæological Society	Col. Attree, R. Garraway Rice
Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society	B. Howard Cunnington (Hon. Cur. of Mus.), Rev. E. H. Goddard (Hon. Secretary)
Yorkshire Archæological Society	Col. Parker, E. W. Crossley (Hon. Secretary)

In addition to the above delegates and to the President and Officers of Congress, there were present : Miss Nina F. Layard and Dr. Philip Norman (Members of Council), and Mr. Willoughby Gardner (Member of the Earthworks Committee).

The Proceedings of the first day were devoted to the business affairs of the Congress. Copies of the Report of the Proceedings at the last Congress had been printed and distributed. Owing to the lamented death of Mr. George Clinch (which occurred very soon after the last Congress), the Council had provisionally arranged for the work, formally done by Mr. Clinch, to be continued by Mr. A. E. Steel. Dr. Norman had asked the Council to accept his resignation as Hon. Treasurer, and the Council had done so, nominating Mr. W. Paley Baildon as his successor. These provisional arrangements were all confirmed unanimously by Congress.

Mr. W. Paley Baildon then presented his Report as Hon. Treasurer. The financial position of the Congress was quite satisfactory, the balance in hand on June 30th being £38 9s. 6d.

Major Freer drew attention to the desirability of using Bankers' Orders for subscriptions, and the Hon. Secretary assured him that this was being done and that the necessary forms would shortly be distributed to Societies.

The Treasurer's Report was carried unanimously.

Mr. Albany Major, O.B.E., Hon. Secretary of the Earthworks Committee, presented the Report of the past year, which is printed in full elsewhere. The Report was approved unanimously. Arising out of the Report, the following resolutions were passed unanimously by the Congress :—

"That the Congress of Archæological Societies desires to support as strongly as it can the appeal put forward by the National Trust for funds in order to enable it to carry out the purchase of Cissbury Ring, near Worthing, and would ask all archæologists to assist the proposal by any means in their power."

(Proposed by Colonel Attree, seconded by Major Freer.)

The President hoped that the National Trust would be able to acquire Cissbury, a site of the greatest archæological importance, which had been investigated by General Pitt-Rivers and other archæologists after him.

It was agreed that the Congress should make a small contribution to the fund, the exact amount being left to the discretion of the Council.

"That the Congress of Archæological Societies, having heard the Report of the Earthworks Committee for the present year, wishes to express its regret at the destruction of a portion of the Middlesex Grim's Dyke at Pinner Green, and to urge on the Ancient Monuments Board the desirability of scheduling for preservation, under the Ancient Monuments Acts, the portion of the dyke which still exists at Pinner, together with other remains of the dyke which are of value, either as illustrating its construction or indicating its course and extent."

(Proposed by Mr. Francis Weston, seconded by Mr. H. St. George Gray.)

The Report of the Council, dated June 30th, 1921, having been printed and distributed, was taken as read on the proposal of Major Freer, seconded by Colonel Attree. An amendment to the wording of the Resolution in the Council's Report, proposed by the Hon. Treasurer, was approved, and the Resolution therefore should read as follows :—

"That the six senior Members of Council (other than Officers) retire at each Annual Meeting, and shall not be eligible for re-election at that Meeting."

Arising out of the Report, the Hon. Secretary explained two proposals contained therein, viz., to print an annual summary of the year's work, and to secure adequate supervision of unemployment schemes that involved disturbance of the soil. The details of procedure in both cases were discussed by Major Freer, Sir William Fry, Mr. T. E. Morris, Mr. Albany Major, the Rev. E. H. Goddard, Mr. St. George Gray and the Hon. Treasurer. It was decided that as regards the "Year's Work" proposal, the methods outlined in the Council's Report should be adopted; and that as regards unemployment schemes, the Council should be authorized to take such action as might be deemed necessary in the best interests of Archæology, it being left to the Council to decide upon the exact procedure adopted. The President said that it would probably be found advisable to send communications to the Press, since the preservation of antiquities was one which might well be of interest to others besides archæological students.

Under the new rule the following Members of Council retired:—The Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, Dr. Philip Norman, Dr. Horace Round, the Earl of Crawford and Major Freer.

The following eight Members were elected unanimously to take their place and to fill two vacancies:—Mr. Roland Austin, Mr. W. Parker Brewis, Mr. R. G. Collingwood, the Rev. E. H. Goddard, Mr. H. St. George Gray, Mr. W. J. Hemp, Professor J. L. Myres and Colonel Parker.

THE PRESERVATION OF OLD STONEWORK.

The Proceedings on Wednesday, November 30th, began at 11 a.m. with the opening remarks of the President. He took as his subject the Preservation of old Stone-work, which was to be brought before the Congress by Professor Prior. A good deal of attention had been given to the care of interiors, but not much to that of exteriors. Our climate was responsible for a great deal of decay, as could be seen from an examination of Westminster Abbey, where only one small piece of original stone-work had survived. The natural agents of destruction were supplemented by human ones in the form of deleterious gases emitted from factory chimneys and the like. The salt fumes of factories were very harmful. How long, for instance, could the very fine stonework of the John Rylands Library, at Manchester, be expected to last amid such unfavourable surroundings? Attempts to stop this process of decay had not hitherto been conspicuously successful. Hardening processes sometimes caused the whole of the exterior to flake off, thus doing more harm than good. He had much pleasure in introducing Professor Prior, who was Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge, and who had something

to tell the Congress of new methods of preserving old stone-work from decay.

Professor Prior (Cambridge) said that hitherto two views had been current, to replace ancient original work by modern imitations and to preserve it intact in its genuine state. The adherents of the first view had hitherto held the field and had scored so many runs that there was little left for the other side to do. There was very little genuine stone-work left, but it was now generally agreed that what there was should be left and preserved rather than replaced. To make use of a literary comparison, what could be our knowledge of Homer if he survived only in Pope's translation ? The day of mere conjecture was past. Old stone-work could be effectually preserved by established scientific processes. Professor Noel Heaton was describing the methods employed at the Royal Society of Arts that evening. Archæological Societies could create sympathy and interest throughout the country and could give advice as to preservation.

The Rev. E. H. Goddard (Wilts) asked how long the preserving process might be expected to last. Past experience in this respect was not encouraging. What was good for one sort of stone was not good for another ; no single process could be of general application. He thought there were occasions when restoration was justified. It was better to see that a building was decently clothed than that it become exposed by decay.

Professor Myres (Oxford) suggested that what was required was to focus a large variety of experiments in preservation so that architects could go and inspect the results. Perhaps Professor Prior would make a communication to Council, relative to Professor Heaton's paper. A comprehensive report was needed to assist Societies in giving advice to architects.

His Honour Judge Udal (Dorset), enquired as to the weathering of Hamdon Hill stone. Mr. Gray (Somerset) said it was very variable. Mr. Collingwood (Cumberland and Westmorland), referring to some remarks on the urgency of scheduling fabrics, said that his Society had already done this. After further discussion in which Messrs. Aymer Vallance, Morris and Currey took part, Professor Prior thanked the Congress for the interest shown in the subject, which was now removed from the realms of conjecture.

The President, summing up, said that the subject under discussion was capable of scientific treatment, causes rather than symptoms being now attacked. The thanks of the Congress were due to Professor Prior for his remarks.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE HAVERFIELD TRUST.

Professor Myres referred briefly to the late Professor Haverfield and his work in terms which fully expressed the feelings

of the Congress. Professor Haverfield's library was bequeathed by his will to the Ashmolean Museum, and, with the rest of his estate, was held in trust by a representative committee. The Haverfield Trust had two main objects in view: (1) the formation of a Corpus of Inscriptions, to be published in the form of supplementary volumes: (2) the carrying out of an archæological survey of Roman remains reduced to map form. In both these undertakings, Archæological Societies could give the Trust great assistance. It was hoped that the Library would become a central storehouse of information relating to Roman Britain, and that reports of finds and similar information would be sent to it from all parts of the country.

Mr. Crawford (Hon. Secretary, Congress) said he felt sure that all those who were taking part in the Archæological Survey, with which he was most closely associated, would be only too willing to assist the Haverfield Trust.

Mr. Collingwood (Cumberland and Westmorland) informed the Congress that he was engaged upon the compilation of the Corpus referred to by Professor Myres. Two thousand inscriptions were estimated to exist, and he was anxious to obtain fresh readings of all these. It was a big undertaking, but the labour would be greatly lessened if he were provided with photographs or rubbings of inscriptions beforehand. Members of Archæological Societies could assist him greatly in his work by sending these to him, since preliminary study at home shortened the time required on the spot.

Mr. Fox (Cambridge) referred to the survey of Southern Cambridgeshire now being carried out.

The President was glad to think that the great name of Professor Haverfield would be perpetuated by the Trust formed by his will to carry on his work.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

The afternoon was devoted to a discussion of the Archæological Survey being carried out in connection with the Ordnance Survey. The Hon. Secretary, who is also Archæology Officer of the Ordnance Survey, gave a brief outline of the very satisfactory progress made up to date.

Mr. Gray (Somerset) referred to the work in Somerset being done by Messrs. Bulleid, Balch and Wicks, some of the results of which could be seen in the 6in. maps exhibited. As an example of the need for such work, he said that in a given area of the Mendips, 57 tumuli only were marked on the Ordnance Maps, whereas 163 were now known to exist, and one new Camp had been discovered.

Mr. Major (Hon. Secretary, Earthworks Committee) referred to the work being undertaken by the Croydon Natural History

Society in conjunction with the Surrey Archæological Society. Some criticisms were made of the Hon. Secretary's "Notes for Guidance in the Field," copies of which were distributed at the Congress.

Mr. Crawford replied briefly to Mr. Major's criticisms and expressed the hope that the "Notes" would be found useful by field-archæologists. It was easier to criticise than to construct. The "Notes" would be offered for sale by the Ordnance Survey at 4d. a copy and the accompanying "Specimen Field Sheet" (*Wilts, Sheet* 29, S.W.) at 1s. 6d. a copy. The "Notes" were intended to assist those engaged in the Archæological Survey to recognize and classify earthworks, and to make public the system of nomenclature to be adopted in future on the Ordnance Survey Maps.

After a further discussion of details, in which Messrs. Morris and Fox took part, the President, in summing up, said that there were many signs that we were at last becoming a civilised nation. The Ancient Monuments Act was evidence of this, as was also the appointment of their Secretary, Mr. Crawford, to the recently created post of Archæology Officer at the Ordnance Survey. When the Archæological Survey being carried out from there was completed, we should have a record as good as could be provided by any human means. The Congress had, he considered, been a most successful one; its influence was far-reaching and not to be measured in numerical terms.

Report of the Earthworks Committee.

The information received by the Committee this year shows an increase of activity under all heads, destruction, unhappily, not excepted. Indeed, the destruction of a portion of the Middlesex Grim's Dyke, at Pinner Green, is the most serious case of the kind brought to your Committee's notice within recent years, and shows up strikingly the difficulties in the way of those who desire to protect ancient earthworks. Although the dyke was clearly marked on the O.S. Maps, no one connected with the Housing Scheme put forward by the Hendon Rural District Council seems to have called attention to it, or to have suggested that it ought to be preserved, and no local resident raised a voice on its behalf. The scheme seems to have been approved by the Office of Works and ought, your Committee understands, to have been submitted to the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments before approval, but it appears that this was not done. This is the more unfortunate, as some modification of the scheme would, no doubt, have been possible, which would have saved a well-marked and typical portion of the dyke, interesting in its contrast to the yet more imposing fragment to the east of it, which so far has escaped. As soon as the Committee heard of the destruction that had been wrought, the matter was reported to the Chief Inspector and to others likely to be interested, and urgent representations were made. It is believed that the danger of further damage has been averted, but your Committee is strongly of the opinion that the fine piece of Grim's Dyke which still remains at Pinner Green should be scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Acts, together with other portions which are, at present, in no immediate danger.

There are two cases reported of destruction on the line of the Roman Wall, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, one of these being also due to a Housing Scheme. The Wall itself has long perished in these parts, but it is very desirable that the traces of its course which still remain should be preserved.

Belated reports of damage or destruction, due either directly or indirectly to the war, come from Northumberland and Wiltshire, and it is probable that there are many cases of damage done to minor earthworks to which attention has not been called.

The Wiltshire case occurred on the outskirts of Salisbury Plain and your Committee is glad to record that at the instance of the Society of Antiquaries, Colonel Hawley has been appointed Inspector of the Antiquities on the Plain, which are in urgent need of the watchful care of an archæological expert. Unofficial activity in recording known and searching for unknown earthworks is also increasing. The Sussex and the Yorkshire Archæological Societies have started on a survey of the earthworks of their respective counties, and the number of unrecorded earth-

works brought to notice from other quarters, notably from Wales, Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Surrey, is remarkable. In the latter county a local Society, the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society which has undertaken a Regional Survey of a large area in its neighbourhood, seems to be doing very good work.

Apart from the discovery of unrecorded earthworks, reports by Dr. Eric Gardner and Mr. D. H. Montgomerie on details of certain well-known earthworks in Devonshire and Sussex which are not in existing plans, shows the large field that is open even for the study of recorded works; while reports from various quarters suggest that the remains of many ancient earthworks may still be in existence, hidden in road and boundary banks for which they have been utilised. This seems not improbable when we consider the network of banks, ditches and trackways that surround ancient habitation sites in regions that have never been enclosed or highly cultivated, e.g., Salisbury Plain, the South Downs, the hills of Dorset, the Yorkshire Wolds, etc.

Your Committee is glad to know that an attempt is being made by the National Trust to acquire Cissbury Ring for the public, and they hope the project will be warmly supported by archæologists. A report by Mr. H. S. Toms shows that this is another well-known work which will repay closer study, and also that it is another of the works which is being greatly damaged by rabbits. Several recent reports of your Committee have pointed out the harm done by these insidious agents of destruction, and it is to be hoped that the National Trust will shortly be in a position to show how their ravages can be checked.

The exploration of earthworks is still hampered by cost of labour, but in Wales this difficulty has not prevented a good deal of work, and there has been much activity in Hampshire where archæologists have been able to do the work themselves or the cost has been borne by the owner. Special attention should, however, be called to the work begun by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society on the great Cambridgeshire dykes and other earthworks in their neighbourhood. The tendency has hitherto been for workers connected with our Universities to go far afield for excavation and to neglect the problems at their doors. The example set by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society might, with advantage, be followed by the sister University, in the case of earthworks so near Oxford as the Dyke Hills at Dorchester and Sinodun on the opposite side of the Thames.

Should it be decided, as proposed by your Council, to issue in future a general review of the Year's Work in Archæology in addition to the Earthworks Report, information about mounds and tumuli not connected with defensive earthworks will be transferred to the general review.

Your Committee regrets to record the loss of Mr. Charles Lynam, F.S.A., a Member of the Committee since May, 1905, who died on the 20th February, 1921. Messrs. J. P. Bushe-Fox, F.S.A., W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., and T. Cann Hughes, F.S.A., have joined the Committee.

Your Committee wishes further to express its great regret at the death of Mr. George Clinch, who had rendered it invaluable help, and its appreciation of the assistance it has had from Mr. A. E. Steel, who has succeeded Mr. Clinch as Assistant Treasurer of the Congress of Archæological Societies, in the preparation of the Bibliographies attached to the last and present Reports.

The information on which the Report is based follows under the usual head, and thanks are again due to the Secretaries of affiliated Societies and other correspondents who have furnished it.

England and Wales.

PRESERVATION AND RECORD.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.—A small earthwork on the right bank of the River Llwchwr, near Llangennech, which is mentioned in a " Survey Plan " of 1808 as " Old Fortification," but had been lost sight of and forgotten, has been re-discovered.

CARNARVONSHIRE.—A small earthwork, about 90 ft. square, has been discovered by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler in the probable line of the Roman road, 1½ miles N.W. of the Roman fort at Carnarvon.

DENBIGHSHIRE.—The existence of the remains of a Roman fort in the valley of the Llugwy, near Bettws-y-coed, which has long been suspected, has been verified by the spade.

DEVONSHIRE.—Dr. Eric Gardner, F.S.A., has sent the following report on details in the construction of the undermentioned earthworks which do not appear in the plans in the Victoria County History :—

——— Payhembury. The eastern entrance of Hembury Camp is limited by a hedge and no earthworks are shown E. of it, though the very interesting approach to the entrance lies there. This consists of a prolongation of the end of the third rampart southwards, protecting a deeply sunken path which runs up from low down on the side of the hill and leads to the east entrance.

——— Membury. The eastern entrance, as shown on the plan, consists of a narrow breach in the rampart, alongside a blind recess. The narrow bank is undoubtedly modern, and the blind recess is formed by the inflection of the ends of the ramparts flanking a true entrance, these two inflected ends being joined by a very modern bank.

DEVONSHIRE.—Dumpton Camp. A long bank can be traced throughout most of its course, running up the hillside to the southern end of the upper terrace outside the eastern entrance and protecting a path. Hembury and Membury are within six miles of Dumpton. All three have eastern entrances with inflected ramparts, and two have interesting outworks.

ESSEX.—Dr. J. Horace Round sends the following notes :—

——— Chrishall. In Morant's, Essex (1768), there is a mention under Chrishall, II., 606, of "a bank which probably ran through Hertfordshire to Middlesex." He states that "the land above the bank in the same fields is inherited by the eldest brother; that below the bank descends by Borrough-English to the youngest." From his language I gather that the bank was already in decay, so that it may well be no longer traceable.

——— Good Easter. The late Mr. Chalkley Gould, in his article on Essex earthworks in the Victoria County History, Essex, I., 303, stated that "at Good Easter, by the Church, is a batch of four moated enclosures, close together but not conjoined," etc.

These enclosures must have been those of Paslowes, Imbers, Fawkeners and Bowers. These were the prebendal homes of four canons of S. Martin-le-Grand, each of whom is known to have had a house there.

——— Great Canfield. This perfect example of the mound and court castle was not dated by Mr. Gould (V.C.H., I., 290). I have just sent to the Essex Archæological Society a note upon it proving that in 1221 the De Veres had here a castle, which is mentioned in conjunction with their stronghold at Hedingham Castle.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.—An oval earthwork with an area of half-an-acre has been discovered 600ft above the sea level on the shoulder of the Wenallt, two miles N. of Whitchurch, near Cardiff. It forms one of a series of similar works in South Wales.

HERTFORDSHIRE.—St. Alban's. In the parish of St. Michael's there is a well-marked dyke, known as the "Devil's Ditch," which in the Victoria County History, as well as in the Hertfordshire Inventory of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) and in the O.S. maps, appears as a short, isolated length of bank and ditch with no extension either way. Mr. G. E. Cruickshank, F.S.A., and the Hon. Secretary, however, in continuation of their examination of dykes near St. Alban's, mentioned in the last Report, have traced this both E. and W. for a considerable distance beyond what appears. Eastwards it has been traced across Watling Street and down to the River Ver, while beyond the river the line is continued by a bank and ditch up to and through Ladies' Grove, as far at least as

Batch Wood. Westwards it can be traced right through Gorhambury Park, while beyond it the line appears to be carried on by hedgerows extending almost continuously to Nash Mills on the River Gade.

HERTFORDSHIRE.—The Hon. Secretary has also visited the "Fosse" at Verulamium, which runs out from about the centre of the west side of the Roman fosse at an acute angle towards the N.W., and is only shown in the O.S. maps as extending for less than a quarter-of-a-mile. It is suggested in the Victoria County History and in the Hertfordshire Inventory that it returned at an angle to form an outwork of the Roman fortress, though the former authority notes an extension beyond the supposed point of return through a copse and into an arable field beyond. But, as a matter of fact, although ploughed out in this field, its continuation on the same line can again be traced three or four hundred yards further on in Gorhambury Park, where it joins up with the earthworks referred to below.

———— Gorhambury Park. The Hon. Secretary has found traces of an extensive system of earthworks here, including small quadrangular works, long lines of dyke, trackways, etc., which require to be studied and planned before they can be further described, or understood.

———— Ware. A new camp (at Widbury) has been discovered, and reported to the Ordnance Survey by the owner, Mr. J. H. Buxton, of Easneye. It lies between Widbury House and Widbury Wood, and the ditch is well-preserved on the S.W. and E. sides of the camp which coincide with field boundaries. The site has been visited and the necessary additions made for publication on the next edition of the O.S. maps; but as a new edition of the 25-inch sheets [*Herts*, 30 S.W.] was published in 1921, the camp will only appear on the 6-inch Sheet now in course of preparation.

HERTFORDSHIRE-MIDDLESEX.—Mr. Cruickshank and the Hon. Secretary have also made further investigations of the course of Grim's Dyke. (See Report for 1919). Eastwards they have traced it from a little beyond Potter's Bar Station, on the G.N.R., almost to the boundary between the two counties, distant a mile or more. At the western end the dyke seems to split into several branches beyond Cuckoo Hill, at Pinner Green. There are, at least, three or four traceable between Eastcote and Ruislip. Their exact course through enclosed ground between Cuckoo Hill and Haydon Hall at Eastcote is uncertain, but W. of this the two northernmost branches run into Park Wood, while a branch from the most northerly runs due N. and forms the eastern boundary of the Wood. It has not yet been followed further. The southerly branch follows the north bank of the River Pinn, from the road W. of Haydon Hall to the next lane westwards.

Just beyond this it crosses to the S. of the river and divides into two. The southern arm follows the main road into Ruislip, passing to the south of Manor Farm. The other arm runs midway between this and the river, passes just N. of Manor Farm and has been traced for half-a-mile or more beyond, but the investigation of these various branches is not yet complete.

MIDDLESEX.—Mr. G. E. Cruickshank and the Hon. Secretary have recently verified the existence of the following unrecorded earthworks :—

——— Bentley Heath. Banks and ditches in a field to the N. of the church, under Mr. Cruickshank's observation for some time, which appear to consist of the remains of a moated site and enclosures connected with it.

——— Ruislip. Various banks and a mound in the fields N. and E. of Manor Farm, to which their attention was drawn by Mr. H. S. Braun. Manor Farm stands within an oval moat, and the other earthworks, which are not in the O.S. maps, appear to include the remains of another quadrangular moat with other enclosures. There was at Ruislip a cell of the Abbey of Bec Harlewin in Normandy, to which the Manor belonged formerly, and these banks and ditches mark, no doubt, the site of the monastic buildings, etc.

——— Wrotham Park. A big bank which runs round the north-west corner of the park from mid-way up its western side to mid-way along its northern side, whence it diverges towards Bentley Heath. Grim's Dyke is merged with it along the W. side of the park, but the relationship of the two works is not clear.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.—Bedwas. Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., has found a small square earthwork on a high moor immediately W. of Twyn Cae-Hugh on Mynydd y Grug, probably a Roman camp.

——— The clearance of trees in Priory Wood, a mile E. of Caerleon, has revealed a quadrangular earthwork with an area of three or four acres. The site might, it is stated, well be Roman, except that the corners are angular, not rounded.

NORTHUMBERLAND.—Lieut.-Colonel E. R. B. Spain, C.M.G., has examined the course of the Black Dyke, which crosses the Roman Wall a little W. of Broomlee Lough and runs between the North and South Tyne. He apparently finds nothing to support the theory that it is a continuation of the Scottish Catrail, or of dykes in Durham and Yorkshire. A full account will be given to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

SUFFOLK.—Sicklesmere. Further examination of the Roman site, discovered by Mr. G. Basil Barham in 1904, and described by him in "The Antiquary," July, 1906, has enabled him to trace out the occupied area which, in his view, probably marks the site of the station of Villa Faustini in Iter V. of Antoninus. Considerable remains of the ramparts on the S. and S.W. sides, and

of what appears to have been a small amphitheatre on the hillside to the N.W., are still visible. Pottery found ranges from Samian to the crudest Romano-British, and coins were found of seven rulers, dating from A.D. 14 to A.D. 337. In the Victoria County History the site is erroneously described as at Whelnetham.

SUFFOLK.—Whelnetham. In the latter parish, however, Mr. Barham has found a small oblong, rectangular work, enclosing two small mounds to the S.E. of the site described above.

SURREY.—The following unrecorded earthworks are reported, discovered for the most part by Members of the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society in the course of a Regional Survey of a large area round Croydon undertaken by the Society :—

——— Chaldon. A quadrangular earthwork just S. of Tolworth Farm, whose southern rampart has been almost, if not entirely, obliterated by a chalk pit, found by Mr. J. M. Newnham. A parish boundary runs along its western face, and just below it the Pilgrims' Way goes diagonally down the slope of the Downs.

——— Godstone. A quadrangular earthwork just N. of and partly in the grounds of the rectory, found by Mr. C. C. Fagg, F.G.S., President of the above Society, and Mr. Newnham. The earthwork lies within and near the north-eastern corner of the remains of a much larger enclosure, also apparently quadrangular, and there are traces of an approach from the south-east angle of the latter to the south-east corner of the earthwork.

——— Merstham. A quadrangular earthwork in a field between Coldroast Farm and the highroad, found by Mr. Fagg. There are traces of other ancient banks in the field as well as immediately to the S. round Boorsgreen and Furzefield Shaw.

——— There are also traces of what appear to be scarped banks running across the south slope of Ashstead Hill, between Furzefield Shaw and Upper Gatton Park, a little below the brow of the hill. On the slighter of these, which is some thirty yards below the upper one, there is a small pear-shaped earthwork on the shoulder of the hill.

——— Epsom. A large enclosure, roughly quadrilateral, within banks of very low profile, at the extreme N. angle of the golf course on Epsom Downs. This appears in the 6in. O.S. map of 1897 as "Cricket Ground," apparently enclosed. There are traces of an entrance in the middle of the south side with a trackway approaching it.

——— Wallington. Remains of an earthwork on the banks of the Wandle, close to the boundary between the parishes of Beddington and Wallington, found by Mrs. J. E. Birch. There is a large circular depression in the enclosure not far from the river bank. A reference to an earthwork, apparently the one in question, is quoted in "Historical Notes on Wallington," by the Rev. J. Williams, 1873, but no authority is given and the work

is not mentioned in the Victoria County History or shown in the O.S. maps.

SURREY.—Walton-on-Thames. Traces of the old boundary bank and ditch of Oatlands Palace grounds (1537-1650) recently noted in Oatlands Park by Dr. Gardner.

——— Woodmansterne. Remains of a large quadrangular earthwork on the cricket field near the church, discovered by Mr. J. M. Newnham.

——— In addition to the above the Hon. Secretary reports a boundary bank following the boundary between the parishes of Chipstead and Merstham, which he has traced from the Brighton Road, near the Star Inn at Hooley, into and across Upper Gatton Park; also traces of ancient earthworks in field and road-banks round Chipstead; and apparent traces of what seems to have been an extensive system of earthworks extending across the hills from Upper Gatton Park to a point between Epsom and Ewell. In connection with the latter, he believes he has succeeded in locating the remains of two banks shown in a very rude plan of an estate at Banstead in Manning and Bray's History of Surrey as running across Preston and Ewell Downs (now enclosed). These banks would appear to have diverged from the neighbourhood of "Buckle's Gap" at the N.E. corner of the golf course on Epsom Downs, whence the one ran nearly N. and N.E., its course being still marked by the parish boundary between Epsom and Ewell, while the other ran first W., then turned nearly S. along the western boundary of "The Knolls," beyond which its course is marked by field-banks to Preston Hawe and beyond.

SUSSEX.—The Sussex Archæological Society has appointed a Committee to make a survey of the earthworks of the county, and the Committee has issued an appeal to all Sussex folk to help them to carry out the work.

——— Cissbury Ring. The National Trust has started a scheme for the purchase of Cissbury Ring, near Worthing, and appeals to the public and to archæologists in general for support.

——— Mr. H. S. Toms reports the discovery and survey of four more rectangular enclosures, ditched and banked, in Cissbury Ring. These are in addition to the three described by General Pitt-Rivers.

——— Ringmer. Mr. Toms also reports a castle-mound, Norman, with dry ditch at Clay Hill Farm. He states that the work is in a very perfect state and is not in the O.S. maps.

——— Mr. D. H. Montgomerie, F.S.A., reports the following details which do not appear in the plans of the earthworks referred to either in the Victoria County History or in the O.S. maps, and are apparently unrecorded:—

——— Pulborough. The vallum and ditch of the Roman

camp near Hardham, which maps and plans only show to the S. of the L.B. & S.C.R., can be traced also to the N. of the railway, round the enceinte, completing the quadrangle.

SUSSEX.—Park Mount. The well-marked rampart and ditch of a bailey run out in a curve from the mount on the S.W. on to a steep natural slope.

——— Dr. Eliot Curwen and Mr. A. Hadrian Allcroft report the discovery of various fresh earthworks, including a big valley entrenchment to the E. of Harrow Hill, another probable village site in Rewell Wood (see the Report for 1920), covered ways on Amberley Mount, Rackham Hill, etc. These will be described in forthcoming papers in the Sussex Archæological Collections.

WILTSHIRE.—Salisbury Plain. At the instance of the Society of Antiquaries, Lieut.-Colonel W. Hawley, F.S.A., has been appointed Inspector of the various antiquities on Salisbury Plain.

——— Wanborough. Mr. A. D. Passmore reports the discovery of a slightly oblong, quadrangular earthwork, containing two mounds, at Sugar Hill on the S. edge of the parish of Wanborough. It has well-rounded corners and two apparent entrances, one near the centre of its southern face, the other at its S.W. corner.

——— Wansdyke. In continuation of an examination of Wansdyke which was interrupted by the war (see Reports for 1914, 1916 and 1917), the Hon. Secretary, in conjunction with Mr. H. C. Brentnall, has again followed the whole course of Wansdyke from the W. of Savernake Forest to its termination under Inkpen Hill. Their examination included various remains of banks and ditches which may mark its course through the forest, but no continuous line has yet been traced through this. He has also followed the branch described by Sir R. Colt Hoare, as diverging southward at a point on Merril Down, a little E. of Great Bedwyn, from that point to the neighbourhood of Ludgershall. Detailed Itineraries have been published in the Wiltshire Archæological Magazine.

YORKSHIRE.—Several Members of the Yorkshire Archæological Society are engaged in the work of marking all the earthworks of the county on the 6in. map in connection with the scheme of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).

——— Gilling. Mr. Edward Wooler, F.S.A., has discovered that the Scott's Dyke, near Gilling, was levelled for the passage of the Roman road from Watling Street to Carlisle.

——— Ilkley. The question of preserving the Roman fort is being brought before the Ilkley District Council.

——— Stanwick. Mr. Wooler also reports that he has discovered some outer earthworks of the "British" camp at

Stanwick (described in his Monograph on the Roman fort at Piercebridge), which are entirely different in character from the rest of the defences. He is inclined to date them to the first half of the first century A.D., and believes that they were constructed for the use of archers.

DESTRUCTION.

CARNARVONSHIRE.—The gradual and unavoidable destruction of the hill-fort on Penmaenmawr continues.

MIDDLESEX.—Harlington. A small square earthwork, shown in the O.S. maps just S. of Harlington, has been so completely effaced by cultivation that it is difficult to be certain of its site.

——— Pinner Green. In March, 1921, Mr. H. S. Braun reported that a well-marked part of Grim's Dyke had been completely destroyed by a Housing Scheme carried out by the Hendon Rural District Council. The matter was at once referred to the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Mr. C. R. Peers, F.S.A., who set enquiries on foot. The Clerk to the Council tried to make out that no part of the dyke had been injured, but this was shown to be incorrect. Not only was the portion of the dyke destroyed clearly marked in the O.S. maps, but the Clerk of the Works and the workmen employed were well aware that they were at work on the site of an ancient earthwork. Two houses at least, had been built actually upon it, and it had been further cut up in making roads and gardens. A proposed extension of the scheme threatened with destruction one of the finest parts of the dyke which at present has escaped. In reply to the representation made, the Office of Works has now been informed that it is not proposed to carry out the extension of the scheme. There may, however, be some danger of the land being utilised for allotments, and a careful watch ought to be kept locally. But for the present, although attention was drawn to the scheme too late to avert irretrievable damage, it is hoped that no further destruction will take place.

——— Ruislip. Part of the oval moat, surrounding Manor Farm on the site of Ruislip Priory, has been filled up to make a lawn tennis court.

NORTHUMBERLAND.—Roman Wall. Two cases of destruction along the line of the Wall of Hadrian have been reported. To the E. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, between Byker and Wallsend the construction of a new road has obliterated part of the fosse, while to the W., near Wallbottle Dean, the vallum has been cut through and built upon by the East Newburn Urban District Council in carrying out the Wallbottle Housing Scheme.

——— Countess Park Camp in N. Tynedale has been damaged by the felling of the trees on its area and the extensive burning of rubbish, which has injured the stones and ramparts

of the camp and its hut circles. The damage was probably done during the period 1918-20, but has only just been reported.

SUFFOLK.—Mr. G. B. Barham reports that the walls of the Roman station at Sicklesmere are being gradually ploughed down. (See also under Preservation and Record.)

SUSSEX.—Mr. Hadrian Allcroft reports that a covered way on Bury Hill, with an adjacent large bell-barrow, has been ploughed over.

——— Mr. H. S. Toms reports great damage from rabbits to the ramparts of Cissbury Ring.

WARWICKSHIRE.—Mr. T. Douglas Murden reports that the remains of a moated site, situated in Ward End, a suburb of Birmingham, have been obliterated. Only one arm of the moat, filled with water, remained in front of Treaford Hall. This has now been drained and filled in.

WILTSHIRE.—A ditch marked on the O.S. maps on the outskirts of Salisbury Plain has been partially destroyed during the war by the construction of Perham Down Camp. It runs, in so far as its course is known, from a point about a mile S.E. of Ludgershall Castle across Perham Down to Lambdown Furze, a distance of something less than a mile. From observations made by Mr. Percy Farrer, it would appear to have been a trackway. The camp is right across it, but it is still well marked on either side of it.

——— Hill Deverill. The Rev. J. W. R. Brocklebank reports that the Parish Council has built six cottages within the enclosure of a reputed " British " village in this parish. The site is marked on the N. and W. by ditches, still some 3 feet 9 inches to 4 feet deep, the former a hundred yards long, the latter seventy-four yards. Seventy-five yards of the northern ditch will be practically effaced in laying out the gardens of the cottages. Nothing of importance was found when the foundations were dug.

EXPLORATION.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—The Cambridge Antiquarian Society has begun an examination of the Fleam Dyke between Cambridge and Newmarket (*Cambs.*, 48 S.W.). The excavations conducted, up to the present, have shown the profile of the ditch and the original mode of construction of the vallum, and have yielded evidence bearing on the date of the earthwork. It seems to have been constructed in three stages, the two reconstructions being probably, and the original bank possibly, post-Roman. Several cuttings were made between the disused railway-cutting and Dungate Farm. The investigation will be continued next season.

——— Excavation during the present season has also shown that the ramp which carries Worsted Street across the Gogmagog Hills, is an example of Roman civil engineering, and

not, as has generally been believed, the partially levelled vallum of a pre-Roman dyke. The site of the excavation is on *Sheet* 47 S.E., near B.M's 191·8 and 156.

CARNARVONSHIRE.—The excavations of the Roman fort at Segontium has been continued under the direction of Mr. A. G. K. Hayter, F.S.A., and Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler. This has shown that this fort began its career as an earthwork in the latter part of the 1st Century, A.D. It was subsequently walled in stone. The work will be continued.

——— Excavations at the earthwork, discovered by Dr. Wheeler, near Carnarvon, revealed post-holes and Roman pottery and glass. The bank has been capped by a line of boulders, and the ditch was flat-bottomed.

——— Mr. Harold Hughes, F.S.A., has continued the examination of the fast disappearing hill-fort at Penmaenmawr for the Cambrian Archæological Association.

CHESHIRE.—Mr. R. Hyde Linaker has been examining a moated site at Aston Hall in an endeavour to ascertain its date and origin, and has discovered the finely chiselled hexagonal base of a sandstone pillar, and made one or two other small finds. But at present, in spite of extensive trenching, nothing has been found to throw light on the problems referred to.

DENBIGHSHIRE.—During the excavations in 1920 in the hill-fort of Dinorben, near Abergele, cuttings through ramparts and ditches threw much light on successive occupations. Owing to excessive cost of labour, work was not continued during the past year, but it is hoped to resume it in 1922.

——— A good deal of successful exploration work on the site of the newly-discovered fort near Bettws-y-coed is reported. (See under Preservation and Record.)

HAMPSHIRE.—The site of an Early Iron Age village on Worthy Down, near Winchester, has been excavated by Mr. R. W. Hooley, F.G.S. (see also p. 16).

——— Dudsbury. Mr. Heywood Sumner, F.S.A., began an examination of Dudsbury on the River Stour, near Wimborne Minster, in April, 1921. The outer ditch was tested in four places on the western side of the camp, where the outer earthwork has been ploughed and spread. No prehistoric relics were found in the filling of the ditch, but only sherds of green-glazed and yellow-glazed mediæval pottery which lay on the bottom of the ditch. The western entrance, shown in Warne's plan, was disproved. Excavation revealed that the ditch was continuous here, and also that a recent causeway had been made across it with modern drain pipes and brickbats in its filling, probably for the sake of access to the area of the camp which is under cultivation. The diggings in this outer ditch seem to indicate a mediæval origin for this outwork, which is surprising. But at

present it must be left at that. Subsequently, a trench was cut across the inner ditch, usually water-logged, but dry in the summer of 1921, which revealed an abrupt ditch wholly different from that of the outer work, filled with peat, at the bottom of which was found a bone-polished rim-sherd, that in body, form and handling indicates pre-Roman pottery. Excavations within the area yielded no result.

HAMPSHIRE.—Hengistbury Head. Mr. H. St. George Gray reports that trenching close to the shore of Christchurch Harbour, as mentioned in the last Report, has been continued at intervals during the year, and some interesting relics, including a fine bronze bridle-bit of the late Celtic period, have been found.

——— Stanpit Marsh, Christchurch. This area on the N. side of Christchurch Harbour, having been acquired by Mr. H. Gordon Selfridge, Mr. Gray has been able to examine a large mound of sand, called Crouch Hill. Some excavations were carried out there in October last and a number of flint implements and pieces of ornamented pottery of the Bronze age were found, but no incinerated human remains.

——— St. Catherine's Hill, Christchurch. In August the small square enclosure on this hill (*Sheet* 86 N.E.) was tested by Mr. W. G. Wallace. The site has been supposed to be that of a mediæval chapel within a Roman earthwork. The chapel site revealed no traceable foundations ; only broken "foreign" stones, bedded pell-mell amidst decayed mortar, sherds of mediæval pottery and rare fragments of painted glass. Three trenches were cut through the surrounding low earthwork, which showed that the ditches were shallow and not defensive. No relics were found in these trenches, excepting one nondescript sherd. The only possible indications of Roman occupation were a few oyster shells, but these were found on the chapel-site associated with mediæval pottery sherds.

——— Barley Pound. The excavations of the Farnham Field Club on the site of the Norman earthwork at Barley Pound, near Crondall (*Hants, Sheet* 28, N.W.), last summer were rewarded by the uncovering of the foundations of a wall eight feet thick, with pottery and other small finds of the Norman period.

An account and plans of these last two sites will be found in Dr. Williams-Freeman's *Field Archæology as illustrated by Hampshire* (Macmillan, 1915).

MERIONETHSHIRE.—Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.S.A., has carried out excavations in the castle-mound at Rug, near Corwen. The mound is an enlarged Bronze age barrow which contains a cist.

MIDDLESEX.—The Committee appointed by the British Archæological Society, the London and Middlesex Archæological Society and the South-Eastern Union of Scientific Societies,

with a view to excavation at Brockley Hill (*Sulloniacae*), has applied for the necessary permission, and if this is obtained it is hoped to begin work next year.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—Margidunum (on the Foss-way, 8 miles E. of Nottingham). Excavation has been continued by Dr. Felix Oswald, and shows that four ditches formed the defences of the camp on the S. side. A series of shallow rectangular pits with iron slag adhering to their base show that during the Nero-Vespasian period, iron-smelting was carried on just within the ramparts. Foundations, probably of barracks, are being uncovered and a stone-lined well has been cleared out. Several large flagons and other pottery, belonging exclusively to the close of the 3rd century, with coins of Tetricus and Carausius were found in it.

YORKSHIRE.—Scarborough. Preparatory excavations have been made for the purpose of locating the site of the Roman coast-guard fort. The mediæval chapel in the castle yard has been dug out and some traces of the fort have been found at a lower level than the chapel foundations, but further exploration is deferred until next year.

Ireland.

Mr. T. J. Westropp reports that the great anxiety and unrest in Ireland has told severely against all archæological work, and that the few who devote themselves to the study of prehistoric matters and of earthworks have been able to accomplish very little; while the exorbitant cost of publication has been equally hurtful on the literary side.

DESTRUCTION.

The following cases of destruction have come to Mr. Westropp's notice:—

COUNTY CLARE.—The removal for road-metal of half a stone ringwall or cattle-bawn at Crossard, Inchiquin.

COUNTY MAYO.—The removal by turf-cutters of an early Tochair, "togher" or causeway, across Cloonascarragh Bog: the destruction of a square earthwork used as a refuge by the people of Castlebar when the Crown forces retreated before the French in 1798; and the rapid removal of a rath on the escar by sand-diggers.

The Year's Work.

The following notes on excavations and discoveries have been received by the Hon. Secretary :—

I. PREHISTORIC.

BERKSHIRE.—Bones of bison continue to be found in Brain's Pit at Newbury Station, but little else, and nothing that assists the dating of the gravel, which is the lowest in the Kennet Valley at this point. The pit is being carefully watched.

A flint factory site between Thatcham and Newbury was excavated during September by Messrs. Crawford and Peake. The working floor was sealed up by a natural deposit of peaty soil and shell-marl about 2 feet thick. An account was read before the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia on March 29th, and will be published in their transactions.

A bronze spear-head, found by a workman in the gravel-pit at Colthrop, Thatcham, was obtained from him by Dr. G. A. Simmons, and presented to the Newbury Museum.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—An Early Iron age cemetery with inhumations has been found at Foxton (*Cambs.*, 53, S.E.), about 250 yards due N. of the Railway Inn. The objects, which are at present in the keeping of Mr. Cyril Fox, Red Gables, Milton, Cambs., are of La Tene III. and IV. type. A cordoned vessel of barrel shape and a spear-head were found with one of the skeletons. The discovery was made during gravel-digging. Mr. Fox hopes to excavate it this year. (*See also Antiquaries Journal, January*, 1922, pp. 57, 58).

CHESHIRE.—Polished stone celt found in Chester City by Professor Newstead, 1914.

Fragments of a " Neolithic urn " found. (Professor Robert Newstead, Grosvenor Museum, Chester).

CORNWALL.—Two bronze implements were found in making foundations for workmen's cottages at Biscovey, parish of St. Blazey, E. of St. Austell (*Corn., Sheet* 51, N.W.), and were exhibited by Mr. Smallwood at a meeting of the Royal Institution of Cornwall on May 23rd, 1922. One other was found but lost again or stolen immediately afterwards. They are at present in the Truro Museum, where it is to be hoped they will find a permanent home.

DORSET.—A bronze sword was found in the Backwater, Weymouth, during the construction of a new bridge. It was brought up in the " grab " in compact gravel and mud from 4 feet below the present bed of the Backwater. It is now on loan in the Dorset County Museum. (Captain John E. Acland, Dorchester).

A large number of Kimmeridge shale discs and flints have been found near Kimmeridge by the Rev. A. Joyce Watson,

Savernake Vicarage, Marlborough, who has observed near by the "foundations of huts constructed of Purbeck Stone, and apparently occupied by the shale workers." These are exposed at the edge of the cliff, and near by are "many discs together with pottery, bones (many of them sharpened), and a number of little flint tools, possibly used in turning, made by breaking a flint flake transversely."

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—The Barnwell gravel-pit continues to yield abundant remains. Mrs. Clifford, Barnwood Cottage, Gloucester, reports discoveries of teeth and bones of mammoth, Rhinoceros Tich., bison and ox, and Neolithic flint implements. The objects are all in her possession. An implement from the same gravel-pit is illustrated in the *Antiquaries Journal* (Vol. i., p. 234), where it is described as "either of late Acheulian or early Mousterian age—probably the former."

HAMPSHIRE.—A number of flint implements continue to be found in the Basingstoke District. The finds include flakes and implements of Palæolithic Age from high altitudes, arrowheads both leaf-shaped and tanged, and a fine greenstone celt. An illustrated account of some of these finds appears in the current number of the *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club* (Vol. ix., Pt. 2).

A village of the Early Iron age on Worthy Down (*Hants, Sheet* 41, N.W.), near Winchester has been excavated by Mr. R. W. Hooley, F.G.S., Earlescroft, St. Giles' Hill, Winchester, Hon. Curator of the Winchester Museum. Attention was first drawn to the site by the discovery there of about a dozen iron currency-bars (described and illustrated by Mr. Hooley in the *Antiquaries Journal*, October, 1921). By means of tapping the ground with the butt-end of a pick (and sometimes with an iron ram) a complete plan of the ditches and pits was made before digging commenced. A full account will be published in due course.

During digging on the new housing-site on the S.W. outskirts of Winchester, pottery bearing many resemblances to that found by Mr. and Mrs. Cunnington at All Cannings Cross, Wilts., was discovered. Mr. Hooley succeeded in uncovering what he considered to be an oven containing many large pieces of a vessel. The objects will be placed in the Winchester Museum. It is hoped to do some more digging on the site this summer.

During August Mr. W. G. Wallace excavated the northernmost of the row of barrows which have somehow got marked upon the Ordnance Map (*Hants*, 86, N.E.) as Roman Watch-Towers. He found a cremated interment and a Bronze-age urn of the overhanging rim type which is now in the keeping of the Earl of Malmesbury, Heron Court, Christchurch. An account

will be published in the *Transactions of the Bournemouth Natural Science Society.*

Barrows have been noted (1) in the fork between the junction of the G.W.R. and L.S.W.R., S. of Winchester (*Hants*, 50, N.W.) (2) in Borough Field immediately S. of the point where the L.S.W.R. crosses the Micheldever Valley, E. of and touching the railway embankment (*Hants*, 33, N.W.). The latter is ploughed nearly flat, but quite easily visible even from the train. Both are round.

KENT.—An urnfield of the Early Iron age has been discovered near Swarling Farm, Petham, and has been excavated by the Society of Antiquaries (*Kent*, 46, S.W.). A full account will be published in due course. There are many points of resemblance to the Aylesford cemetery. (*See Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. i., p. 339).

MIDDLESEX.—Mr. Fred Turner, F.R.Hist. Soc., Librarian and Curator of the Brentford Public Library and Museum, writes : " I have recently seen at least another dozen stakes or piles in the river-bed near the old outlet of the Brent at ' Old England ' ; one of them—the best—has been drawn and placed in our Museum ; it measures about seven feet, six feet of which was embedded in the ground. It looked a perfect specimen when drawn up, but the drying process has resulted in the usual cracks."

NORTHUMBERLAND.—Colonel E. R. B. Spain writes : " On February 14th, 1921, a siding on the N.E. Railway was being cut through a field on Low Morralee Farm, on the Ridley Hall Estate (*Northumberland*, 93, N.W.). One side of the cutting fell in, and amongst the debris was found a cinerary urn containing two other vessels, and some burnt bones. One of these vessels is unique. About 6 feet W. from where the find was made, was found a burial by inhumation ; the body was lying N. and S., but details are not ascertainable. With it was a bronze knife, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. The objects are in the possession of the Hon. F. Bowes-Lyon, of Ridley Hall. (*Proc. Soc. Ant., Newcastle-on-Tyne*, 3 Ser., Vol. x., p. 29).

In August, 1921, a cist was excavated by Mr. Bosanquet and his son in the parish of Rock. The site is the plantation known as Heiferlaw Plantation on the old edition (*Sheet* 27, S.W.), and Ellsnook Wood on the new edition (*Sheet* 29, N.W.). In the cist was found a beaker. The cist was in the top of a mound, and it is thought that it is not the primary interment. The mound is certainly partly artificial. Excavations are to be resumed this summer. (Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, Rock Moor, Alnwick).

The remains of an ancient burial-mound have also been found during the revision of Northumberland. It is situated 15 chains W. of Blawearie, parish of Old Bewick, and

half-a-mile N.E. of the cup-and-ring marked rocks. Of the mound, or more properly the cairn, itself, little remains; but an outer surrounding circle of stones survives (diameter 33 feet). Inside this circle are smaller stones, the remains doubtless of the cairn. The stones of the circle touch each other, and some of them lean outwards. (This feature is very often observed; it was produced originally by the pressure of the cairn, for which it formed a kind of retaining wall). Inside are two cists placed side by side, with a distance apart of about 2 feet. Each is formed of four stone slabs placed upright on their edges, and forming a rectangle, with a covering stone lying close by. Their direction is N.W. and S.E.; they are 3 feet 6 inches long, 1 foot 6 inches broad and three feet deep. Depressions within the circle give the impression that other cists may have been removed. (Sergeant Brennan, R.E., April, 1922).

Somerset.—Mr. H. St. George Gray reports as follows:—The illustrated report (with contoured plan and sections) on the Excavations at Murtry Hill, Orchardleigh Park, near Frome, September-October, 1920, by Mr. H. St. George Gray, is published in *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. lxvii. (1921), issued March, 1922. The site represented a chambered Long Barrow. The work was carried out under the auspices of the Somerset Earthworks Committee, and Dr. A. Bulleid was associated with Mr. Gray in this work.

A stone (basalt ?) celt, ground, of Neolithic type was found by a man on July 6th, 1921, in a potato plot, 2 feet deep, in the parish of Babington, but close to the Highbury Methodist Chapel in Kilmersdon Parish. It is now in the Somerset County Museum.

Small implements, cores and flakes of flint have been collected (1921) on Shapwick Heath, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile S. of Shapwick Railway Station. Similar series are noted in *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. li,, Pt. i., p. 71, and Vol. lvi, Pt. i., p. 92.

Flint implements of Neolithic type have been picked up by Mr. R. H. Fitzjames, of Clifton, on the surface in some quantities, (1) at Stanton Drew in a field about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the Stone circles, (2) in a ploughed field E. of the camp at Charterhouse-on-Mendip.

After seven years' cessation (the result of the war) the excavations at the Meare Lake Village, near Glastonbury, were resumed on August 29th, 1921, and were continued for three weeks. The work, as previously, was under the direction of Dr. A. Bulleid and Mr. H. St. George Gray. The antiquities discovered were numerous and interesting, and are now exhibited in the Somerset County Museum, but no full report upon the work has yet been issued. If funds permit it is not unlikely that the excavations will be continued next September, for not one-half of the Meare Lake Village has yet been explored.

Mr. E. K. Tratman reports as follows :—During 1921 the work commenced by the University of Bristol Spelæological Society in 1919 in the caves of the Burrington district was continued. The results will be published in the second number of the *Proceedings*. The main result of the 1921 work has been the definite proof that an Upper Palæolithic site exists at Aveline's Hole (" The Cave " on the O.S. map, *Somerset*, 18, N.W.) at the foot of Burrington Combe. Artefacts of bone and flint have been found as well as numerous bones of birds, mammals and human beings of the period. Among the artefacts are a double-rowed six-barbed harpoon of antler (found 1920), and a shell necklace (found in fragments in 1920-21). The material was removed by foot-layers.

The Keltic Cavern (which has been renamed " Read's Cavern ") on the southern margin of Mendip Lodge Wood, only yielded a few additional objects of the Early Iron age.

Owing to the wearing away by the elements of a large sand-bank at Brean Down near Weston-super-Mare (*Somerset*, 16, N.W.), several portions of human skeletons and fragments of pottery have been exposed. The pottery is black and coarse, and without ornament.

All the above objects are in the Museum of the Spelæological Society, Bristol.

Sussex.—The activities of the members of the Sussex Archæological Society are mainly included in the report of the Earthworks Committee. The Society has recently taken up the survey of Sussex, and has been provided with the necessary maps.

Dr. Eliot Curwen reports a disc-barrow on Cock Hill, S.E. of Harrow Hill, which proved not to be circular ; and a very fine " Celtic road " running across the Brighton and Hove golf-links.

Mr. Hadrian Allcroft reports the same disc-barrow, and a number of barrows in the Lewes district, " chiefly ' rings ' and ' discs ' found by Mr. H. S. Toms."

Wiltshire.—The past year has seen a great deal of activity in Wiltshire. By far the most important event has been the continued excavation of the Iron age village at All Cannings Cross. The finds made bear out previous conclusions as to its age. Mr. and Mrs. Cunnington are preparing a full account of their work there. The excavations will be continued this year.

The revision of the county by the O.S. has given a stimulus to field-work and many new discoveries have been made. Mr. Passmore has found a small circle of stones in a valley S. of East Kennett and several barrows, both long and round. He also superintended the work carried out recently at the Devil's Den in Clatford Bottom. This burial-chamber is now in no danger of falling, and it is scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act. The Rev. H. G. O. Kendall has pointed out the

sites of several antiquities not hitherto recorded on the O.S. maps.

With the aid of both published and unpublished drawings and plans of Avebury, Mr. Crawford has been able to discover the sites of many stones not previously located exactly. These will be marked on the new edition of the O.S. map. An account of the unpublished plans made by Stukeley about 1720 will be delivered by Mr. Crawford at the annual meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological Society at Swindon (July 31st, 1922). It will be fully reported in the *Wiltshire Gazette* (Devizes). These plans, the property of Mrs. St. John of Dinmore, Herefordshire, were not previously known to be in existence.

An account of the work being done at Stonehenge will be found in the *Antiquaries Journal* for January, 1921 and 1922.

A sarsen stone in Bowood Park deserves notice. It was originally discovered by the Earl of Kerry who identifies it with the Hoar-stone whose existence is indicated by old estate-maps. It is very unusual to find a sarsen stone resting directly upon the greensand, and its presence there may be due to human agency. Two other sarsens exist in the Park. The site of the Hoar-stone will be marked on the O.S. map.

Yorkshire.—Mr. T. Sheppard, F.G.S., Editor, East Riding Antiquarian Society (Municipal Museum, Hull), reports that various stone and bronze implements have been found on the Yorkshire Wolds, and will be described in the *Transactions*, which he edits. They are in the Hull Museum.

Mr. E. W. Crossley (Broad Carr, Holywell Green, near Halifax) reports, on behalf of the Yorkshire Archæological Society, that a celt has been found on Rishworth Moor, S.W. of Halifax (W.R., Sheets 244 and 245). *See Y.A.J.*, Vol. xxvi., p. 304.

Mrs. Cunnington reports that a hoard of bronze implements was found at the end of 1921 or shortly afterwards near Ripon and is now in the Museum there. "It seems to consist of a dozen or more socketed celts, and a dagger or small bronze sword. The latter seems to be leaf-shaped, with flat handle and rivet-holes cast in one with the blade."

Isle of Man.

Mr. P. M. C. Kermode reports as follows:—A polished stone axe-head, very badly weathered, $3\frac{1}{16}$ inch long, with rounded sides, was found on the Mule Hill in the S. of the island in April, 1921, by Professor Sir W. A. Herdman, F.R.S., who presented it to the Manx Museum.

A fairly good socketed bronze axe was turned up under the shingle at Port Mooar on the E. coast in September, 1921, by Mr. Foulis when digging a bed for his boat. It measures $4\frac{5}{16}$ inches long. One face is much worn, the other shows a decoration of

three ribs from a well-defined neck moulding, with indications of two other slight mouldings down the angles. It has been presented to the Manx Museum.

Channel Islands.

Guernsey.—Colonel de Guérin reports that rough Neolithic implements made of felsite, diorite, and granite have been found at the following sites :—

1. Lancresse Common, Vale Parish, in sand-pit near Nid de l'Herbe Tower, and also about 100 yards N. of the "dolmen" of La Varde. The finds consist of flint implements and flakes of fragments of Neolithic pottery, some with incised patterns.

2. Le Crocq Point, St. Saviour's Parish. Finds consist of a large celtiform implement of diorite in a midden with potsherds, baked clay, etc.

3. Jerbourg Point, St. Martin's ; objects found in surface, near Doyle's Column.

The above were found by Mr. J. W. Sinel. The late M. Adolphus Collenette has in collaboration with Mr. Sinel found many stone implements and other objects. These are in the Guille-Allès Museum, Guernsey.

Jersey.—Mr. E. T. Nicolle, Soc. Jersiaise, 9 Pier Road, Jersey, reports that pit-dwellings have been found at Ile Agois, St. Mary's Parish. They are about 14 in number, between 12 and 14 feet in diameter and 3 feet deep. Only one has been examined up to the present. The objects found include charcoal, potsherds (one piece being 4 inches square and almost ½ inch thick, and of coarse texture), and a fine barbed arrow-head of quartz. Further excavations will be made this year by the Société Jersiaise.

A bronze knife, identical in form with Evans' Fig. 261, has been found in a disused well in St. Brelade's Parish, and is at present in the possession of the proprietor.

II. ROMANO-BRITISH.

Berkshire.—An iron wheel-tyre with remains of the wooden axle and spokes, the bones of a horse, and a human skull in a perfect condition were obtained by Dr. G. A. Simmons, Edgecumbe, Newbury, in the gravel-pit near the mills at Colthrop, Thatcham. The Roman road from Silchester to Speen passes within a few yards of the site, and the remains may, therefore, be of Roman date. Wooden piles are also to be observed all along the S. side of the pit, but their age is doubtful.

Cheshire.—Excavations by Professor Newstead in the garden of No. 6, King's Buildings, Chester, near the N.W. corner of the City Walls, have revealed a well-defined stratum of relics of the period 81-117 A.D. The evidence of dating is taken

chiefly from the *terra sigillata*, of which the following shapes were noted :—decorated, 29, 37 (all transitional), 67 and 78 ; plain, 15, 18 and 27. Potsherds of coarse pottery were abundant and a large number of different vessels (all early shapes) were represented, including some new types, and two pieces of clean glazed ware probably from the Holt kilns. Of glass vessels there were fragments of a 1st century pillar-moulded bowl ; a piece with oval facets cut with a wheel, window glass and pieces of bottles with reeded handles ; coins of Titus (one) and Domitian (one) were found. A full report will be read before the Chester and North Wales Archæological Society, whose Secretary has kindly obtained these details for the Editor from Professor Newstead.

DEVON.—A Roman dwelling has been found near Seaton, and a short note about it will be found in the *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. i., p. 237, 8.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—The finds from the Roman cemetery include a fine brooch and many pots. Owing to the casual nature of the finds, which are being made during gravel-digging, it has not been possible to record the associations of objects in graves. A report on the human remains is being prepared by Professor Sir Arthur Keith. (Mrs. Clifford, Barnwood Cottage, Gloucester, where all the objects found are).

A note on the finds appears in the *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. i., p. 236.

A stone coffin was found in April " in the slope of the hill at Lower Slaughter, quite close to Buckle Street." It contained the skeleton of an adult male, about 5 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, in the prime of life. (*See Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. i., p. 340).

About two hundred feet of the S. wall of Roman Cirencester has been uncovered by Mrs. Cripps of that town. It was made of rubble set in hard cement, but the facing of squared stones has been torn away throughout its length. The wall measures on an average from 10 to 11 feet in thickness without the facing. Two bastions were found, between which was a gate about 12 feet wide. It probably carried a single arch. The finds include much Samian, some pieces with leaden rivets, bronze fibulæ, bone pins, and pottery. The excavations have been covered in. (Summarized from an account in the *Wiltshire Gazette*, March 23rd, 1922).

HAMPSHIRE.—A good tesselated Roman pavement has been discovered on the high ground above Longstock on Mr. Barker Mill's property. It appears to belong to a large and important villa (*Hants*, 31, S.E.).

KENT.—Mr. Hubert Elgar reports as follows :—A bowl of gritted ware was found in excavating sand at Boro-green, March, 1921 (*Kent*, 30, S.W.). The site is near that where Romano-British graves were found in October, 1899. When found, the

bowl stood on a large flint nodule, but it was broken in removal. It contained charcoal, and is now in the Maidstone Museum.

A vessel of *terra sigillata* ware (Form 33, Dragendorff) was found in April, 1921, on the site of the Romano-British interment discovered at Sandling, Maidstone (*Kent*, 31, S.E.), in October, 1919. Height 5·5 inches, diameter of mouth 10·5 inches, of base 4·6 inches. It is now in the Maidstone Museum.

Several Romano-British interments were discovered at Ospringe, near Faversham, in October, 1921 (*Kent*, 34, S.W.). The burials have been photographed *in situ* and excavated by Mr. W. Whiting, of Ospringe. The site is about 340 yards W. of the Roman cemetery discovered in 1920 and described by Mr. Whiting in *Arch. Cantiana, Vol.* xxxv. A short account was published in the *Kentish Express*, March 18th, 1922, and the original discovery is noted in the *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. i., p. 141.

A Romano-British interment was found in excavating gravel at Kennaway, near Ospringe, in April, 1921 (*Kent*, 34, S.W.). The find consisted of a cinerary urn containing burnt bones, a bulbous vessel, a one-handled flagon of brick-red ware, and a thin fragment of a vessel of black ware. (Mr. Whiting, Ospringe).

SOMERSET.—Mr. H. St. George Gray reports as follows:—Lines of a Roman building were revealed by scorching, due to the 1921 drought, on the lawn at Drayton Vicarage (*Somerset*, 72, S.E.). Reference to the O.S. map shows that Roman coins and other objects have been found in two places a little to the W. of the Vicarage. (*Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, Vol. lxvii., p. lxxviii.).

The drought also revealed the existence of foundations in the modern cemetery on the Bristol road, half-a-mile to the N.W. of the Church at Keynsham (*Somerset*, 7, N.W. and S.W.). Sherds of pottery, pieces of flue-tiles and tesserae had been collected when graves had been dug. (*Proc. S.A.S.*, Vol. lxvii., pp. xxi and lxxv.).

Several sherds of pottery were found in August, 1920, in digging a grave in the N.E. extension of the churchyard at Burrowbridge (*Somerset*, 62, S.W.). This new burial-ground is the lower part of the slope of "Burrow Mump." The potsherds subsequently came into the possession of the County Museum.

A few fragments of pottery were found by the Yeovil Volunteers in 1916, while digging trenches in a field adjoining, and to the N. of Two Tower Lane in the parish of Barwick, near Yeovil (*Somerset*, 90, N.W.). They have recently found their way to the County Museum.

Mr. Gerald J. Grey reports:—Sir Alexander Lawrence, of Brockham End, Lansdown, Bath, has lately been excavating a Roman site with some rough foundations of a building on his

property ; and he has in his possession a quantity of Roman pottery, etc., taken from the site.

STAFFORDSHIRE.—In the course of excavations for new buildings at "The Butts," Wall, Staffordshire, during September, 1921, some Roman pottery and other remains were found. The following is an extract from a letter dated October 2nd, 1921, from Mr. R. J. K. Mott, of Wall House, Crowcombe, Taunton :— "The buildings that were uncovered in 'The Butts' field at Wall were the Roman baths and a large villa. The latter was covered in again, and part of the former, but a small part of the baths remains uncovered, and a hypocaust is protected by an iron roof. All the finds were removed to a small Museum that I built in the village, where plans of the excavated buildings may be examined. I think it unlikely that there exist any more foundations of buildings in 'The Butts,' as trial trenches in various directions yielded no results. I found traces of walling in Castle Croft, but did not uncover much."

The plan of the buildings has been incorporated on the 25 inch Ordnance Map (*Staffs.* 58, 6), and the correct name of the Roman town LETOCETUM has been inserted.

WILTS.—The Rev. A. Joyce Watson, Savernake Vicarage, Marlborough, writes, Nov. 7th, 1922 :—"A considerable length of the Roman road where it crosses Braydon Hook has been exposed by turf-cutting operations . . . . The causeway shows up well with its large flints, as the surface has, of course, been completely peeled off . . . The discoverer has a horse-shoe which he found, and there are numerous fragments of rough tile and brick among the flints."

YORKSHIRE.—Mr. Sheppard reports the discovery of a Roman skeleton with iron bracelet and large bone beads, pottery, and other remains in a trench at Middleton-on-the-Wolds (*Yorks., Sheets* 177 and 178, Hull Museum).

Mr. Crossley reports that the excavation of the Roman fort at Ilkley was continued for the third year, and completed during 1921 (*Yorks., W.R.*, 169, S.W.) ; and that excavations to locate the Roman coast-guard fort in Scarborough Castle yard were begun. Traces of the fort were found, but the exploration has not yet been completed. (*Yorks., N.R., Sheet* 78).

III. POST-ROMAN.

BEDFORDSHIRE—EATON SOCON.—Mr. Beauchamp Wadmore, 10, Kimbolton Avenue, Bedford, reports that fragments of pottery are being found in the rabbit scrapes on the earthworks of "The Hillings" (Castle Mound and Bailey). These will be submitted to Dr. T. D. Pryce and Professor Stenton.

DURHAM.—In the *Antiquaries Journal* for April, 1922, Vol. ii., pp. 141-3, is an account of further discoveries made in the

Saxon cemetery at Hartlepool in October, 1921. The finds consisted of skeletons and a flat pillow-stone (not sculptured). The skeletons have been reburied in St. Hilda's Churchyard. The Rev. Bertram Jones, Rector of Hartlepool, concludes: "The knowledge gained from these discoveries proves that the Hartlepool Saxon cemetery, which was first discovered in 1833, is of considerable extent, and certainly stretches from Baptist Street to St. Hilda Street, and possibly even farther."

When the cemetery was first discovered a number of tomb-stones or pillow-stones with crosses sculptured on them were found. Of these, only seven complete stones have been preserved. Four of them are in the British Museum, two in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and one is in the Cathedral Library at Durham. (*V.C.H. Durham*, Vol. i., p. 212. Three of these in the British Museum are figured in the plate opposite p. 212).

HAMPSHIRE.—An eleventh-century cross-base with sculptured designs has been found at Winchester by Colonel Sir Charles Close, Director-General of the Ordnance Survey. The stone stands at present in the garden of Lieut.-General Sir Edward Altham, and is believed to have been taken there many years ago from the churchyard of St. Faith, which is only a hundred yards distant. A full account with drawings appears in the current number of the *Hampshire Field Club Proceedings*.

SOMERSET.—Mr. H. St. George Gray reports as follows:—The summer of 1921 has been remarkable for the discovery at Glastonbury Abbey of the site of the monument mentioned by John of Glaston as having been erected to the N. of the *Ecclesia Vetusta* to record by a line drawn S. its ancient eastward termination. On exploring the ground southward the foundations of Norman walling were discovered lying alongside St. Mary's Chapel to the N., and suggestive of a former stone encasement of the *Ecclesia Vetusta*, as hinted by James Parker, on the precedent of York. Considerable remains of the N. wall of the N. transept have also been brought to light, together with many relics of fine tabernacle-work and encaustic tiling. These excavations are being carried on, as for several seasons past, under the direction of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, with the permission of the Abbey Trustees.

SURREY.—The workmen employed on making a new motor-road from Thornton Heath to Purley in the Spring of 1921, disturbed a human skeleton in widening Edgehill Road, Russell Hill, in Croydon parish, and further work revealed the remainder of the skeleton with a bronze buckle and iron knife. These are considered by Mr. Reginald Smith, F.S.A., to be Anglo-Saxon, dating from the early 6th century. Human remains are reported to have been discovered many years ago in the immediate

neighbourhood during road-making, but no proper investigation was made at the time. Exact details of the present interment cannot be obtained, but the position of the body was probably north to south.

SUSSEX.—In the *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. i., p. 236, is a short note on new discoveries in the Saxon cemetery at Eastbourne, described first in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, Vol. lii. It is said that the cemetery probably belongs to the sixth century.

YORKSHIRE.—Mr. Crossley reports that foundations of a mediæval chapel in Scarborough Castle yard were uncovered and planned. (*Yorks. N.R., Sheet* 78). One hundred and twenty-two coins (Charles II. to George III.) were found at Bridlington (*Yorks. E.R., Sheet* 146) on the site of an ancient dwelling-house. Sixty-one were of gold, the rest silver.

Anglo-Saxon burials were discovered at Clifford (*Yorks. W.R.*, 189, S.E.).

ISLE OF MAN.

The Rev. Canon Quine has collected, at Lonan Parish Church, a number of rude unhewn stones bearing artificial markings or grooves made for some definite purpose; some of these, which suggest an early script are said not hitherto to have been met with in the British Isles. The examples collected are from neighbouring sites, and are associated with traces of earthworks. Other examples have been found (and in many cases copied) and recorded on the Ordnance Maps, in eight out of the nine eastern parishes, and in three out of the eight western parishes of the island. They occur at heights of between 350 and 700 feet, and seem associated with human settlements on the dry ridges or spurs at right angles to the mountain range of the island. They are generally weathered blocks of trap-rock, roughly polygonal in form, and measure from two to four feet in length. All natural causes such as ice-grooving, plough-marks, etc., have been considered; but the marks are said to be of such a character as not to be accounted for by these explanations.

Wales.

I. PREHISTORIC.

Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, of the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, reports as follows:—

BRECKNOCKSHIRE.—A long-cairn at Pen-y-Wyrlod, three-quarters-of-a-mile E. of Llanigon was excavated by the Woolhope Club. The megalithic cist (without entrance-passage) at the E. end yielded the remains of twelve persons, animal bones, two potsherds and some flint flakes. A smaller chamber at the

W. end contained charcoal, and in the mound were glass beads and a coin of Crispus. (*Western Mail, September* 5th, 1921; *Arch. Camb.*, 1921, pp. 296-9; *Man*, 1922, 6). Cairns, one round and two long on Ffostill Farm, near Talgarth, were partially excavated by Messrs. C. E. Vulliamy and A. F. Gwynne. One of the long-cairns, 108 feet long and 68 feet wide at the E. end, contained an eastern chamber, 11 feet by 4 feet, without entrance passage. In the chamber were remains of at least eight persons, including a cranium of dolichocephalic type. With the bones were three pieces of worked flint, one "cracked by fire." (*Western Mail,* Nov. 29th, 1921; *Arch. Camb.* 1921, pp. 300-5).

CARNARVONSHIRE.—The Graig Lwyd stone-axe "factory," on the N.E. slopes of Penmaenmawr, was further explored. A hearth was found and several implements, similar to those recovered during the previous excavations, described by Mr. S. Hazzledine Warren in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Inst.*, Vol. xlix., pp. 342-65, and Vol. li., pp. 165-99.

Hut-circles and enclosures at Rhostryfan, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles S. of Carnarvon, were partially excavated by Mr. Howel Williams. Glass beads, iron slag, and a piece of bronze with late Celtic repoussé ornament, were found.

DENBIGHSHIRE.—At Rûg, near Corwen, a castle-mound, built over a Bronze-age barrow, has been further explored by Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.S.A.

FLINTSHIRE.—A round barrow in Ffrith-y-Garreg Wen, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.S.W. of Whitford, was excavated by Mr. Howel Williams. It contained several interments, and the finds included a small pierced whetstone and a cinerary urn containing a bronze knife. (*Arch. Camb.* 1921, pp. 265-89).

GLAMORGANSHIRE.—Barrows and cairns, explored by the National Museum of Wales on Murgam Mountain, included a large round barrow, known as the Twmpath Diwlith, which had originally been built of turves and had later been enlarged with earth. The primary interment consisted of fragmentary burnt bones in a rough cist; the secondary interment had been rifled.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.—A hoard of about thirty flint arrowheads, mostly barbed and tanged together with a number of roughly worked flint flakes, has been found in the peat near Llyn Bugeilyn, midway between Machynlleth and Llanidloes.

II. ROMANO-BRITISH.

CARNARVONSHIRE.—The excavation of Segontium, the Roman site at Carnarvon, was resumed by the Segontium Excavation Committee. The ramparts of the main fort, a corner turret, the N.W. gateway, and parts of two internal buildings, were examined. The evidence suggests three main periods of occupation:—(1)

c. 80-120, (II.) *c.* 200-220, and (III.) *c.* 250-380. (*Arch. Camb.* 1921, pp. 170-204.

A small earthwork, about 90 feet square, was discovered 1¼ miles N.N.E. of Carnarvon, near the cottage "Bryn Glas." Trenches showed that the work was of *c.* 100 A.D. and apparently unfinished. In the "hill-fort" of Braich-y-Ddinas, Penmaenmawr, excavations were resumed by Mr. H. Harold Hughes, F.S.A. Several stone hut-circles were cleared, and the finds included two Kimmeridge shale bracelets, a Romano-British silver snake-bracelet, and apparent traces of lead-working.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.—Roman pottery, including 2nd century Samian and a 2nd brass of Faustina the Younger, were found, apparently in association with foundations during the laying of a sewer, half-mile S. of Church Road Station, Machen. This is the first record of Roman remains in the district.

III. MISCELLANEOUS.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.—Hut-circles and cattle-enclosures on the 1,500 feet contour-line, 1¼ miles N. of Blaenrhondda, were partially excavated by the Rhondda Naturalists Society, but the finds—leather and iron slag—were inconclusive.

Scotland.

Mr. J. G. Callander, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh, reports as follows:—

The excavations on the hill fort on Traprain Law, East Lothian, were continued last summer (1921) by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the results, both in the discovery of structures and of relics, being most satisfactory. In the four previous seasons devoted to the examination of the site, four distinct levels of occupation, dating from the end of the first century of this era to the beginning of the fifth, had been recognised, and it was considered that the fort had been inhabited intermittently. No evidence of earlier sites of habitations had been detected, though the discoveries of a few Bronze age relics, from time to time, and of a burial deposit of four cinerary urns and one incense cup urn indicated that the hill had been visited by people of that period. Last summer, however, four other occupational levels were identified, indicating that probably the hill was continuously inhabited at least during the first few centuries of this era, also that there had been settlements during the late Bronze age and early Iron age.

On every level rude stone foundations of oval enclosures and of hut-circles were encountered, and paved areas and hearths of rectangular and oval form were laid bare. Passing through the

occupied area was an ancient roadway with walled sides in places. showing the ruts made by wheeled vehicles and a central hollow made by the feet of the animals which dragged them.

As in previous years, a rich harvest of relics, which included some types of objects never before found in Scotland, was secured. Three socketed axes, three pins and a razor, all of bronze, were found within a very restricted area ; the razor was of crescentic form, with a ring at one end of the back and a perforation near the other, and resembled a continental more than a native type. A number of fragments of clay moulds for casting bronze swords and axes, a spear-head with lunette openings in the blade, and other objects were also recovered—the sword moulds had been reinforced by a metal rod running longitudinally through the clay. Belonging to late Celtic times was a socketed and looped axe of iron and a handsome bronze pin with a massive head projecting from one side of the top of the stem. Amongst the other relics found were a considerable number of fragments of armlets of jet and parti-coloured glass ; of bronze there were four harp-shaped fibulæ, two of dragonesque form, and two of penannular shape with bulbous ends ; examples of finger rings, dress fasteners, two pins with the projecting ring-heads formed of six pellets, and a waster or unfinished casting of another, two terret rings, one enamelled, several looped studs, and a bronze girdle ring of Scandinavian type. A very small spoon-like object of silver, with perforated bowl and loop at the end of the handle for suspension, belongs to a class of relic occasionally found in the North of France and in different parts of central Europe. Iron objects included two small sickles, a spear-head with midrib and open socket, the point of a sword blade, and a hoe. Stone objects consisted chiefly of whetstones and whorls, but there were several hammerstones, four stone axes, a few small balls, possibly used as sling stones, a broken leaf-shaped arrow-head, another of lop-sided form, a number of scrapers of flint, and two small conical objects of coprolite shaped like a spinning top. Fragments of Samian ware and of other kinds of Roman pottery, including the greater part of a mortarium, were recovered, as also a considerable quantity of sherds of very coarse hand-made native pottery. Eight Roman coins were found ; they consisted of 1 Nero, 2 Antoninus Pius, 1 Trajan, 1 probably Gallienus, 2 Carausius, and a fourth century coin unidentified.

It is intended to resume the excavation of the site during the coming summer.

H.M. Office of Works have carried out excavations at the abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, Culross and Crosraguel, Restennet Priory, and at Castle Urquhart and Burleigh Castle. The most interesting discoveries in the matter of relics were a leaden casket of conical form containing a human heart, another

vessel of lead of somewhat similar shape, and a third of the same material rather larger than and shaped like a band-box which were found at Melrose, and two corroded masses of iron arrow-heads found at Castle Urquhart.

Ireland.

Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong, of the National Museum, Dublin, reports as follows :—

The year, 1921, was not productive of important archæological results in Ireland. To organise excavations was impossible owing to the disturbed state of the country. With the exception of the discovery of coins at Abbeyland, Navan, County Meath (See *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. i., p. 341) no finds of interest were reported.

Professor A. Francis Dixon, of Dublin University, has communicated particulars of a small unpublished "dig" which, with the assistance of Mr. Arthur W. Bretland, Chief Engineer of the Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland, he was able to carry through at Lecarrow, County Roscommon. Here a small stone circle was opened up in extending the quarry to the N. side of the Railway. The circle consisted of small loose stones with one stone about 2 feet long set on end in the middle. Beneath the central stone the skeleton of a young adult man was found. This individual was powerfully built ; but the bones were unfortunately broken into small pieces before they were examined carefully. At a letter date two small urns of Bronze age date were discovered near the N. edge of the circle. These had been placed on the lime stone rock just four feet below the surface. With the urns was a large collection of burnt human bones representing portions of, at least, four individuals. The burnt fragments represented much smaller individuals than the skeleton found in the middle of the circle. It is believed that the latter belonged to a later period. With the burnt bones were found three implements ; two made from red deer antler, and one from a portion of the sacrum of red deer. Beneath the sod, inside the circle, bones of many animals, and parts of several human children's skeletons, were discovered.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A.J.—Archæological Journal (Annual of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland).
Ant. Journ.—Antiquaries Journal (quarterly publication of the Society of Antiquaries of London).
Arch. Camb.—Archæologia Cambrensis (quarterly publication of the Cambrian Archæological Association).
C. & W.A.S.—Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.
H.F.C.—Hampshire Field Club and Archæological Society.
J.B.A.A.—Journal of the British Archæological Association.
P.S.A.—Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.
Som. A.S.—Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
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Affiliated Societies.

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. W. G. Strickland, Esq., 63, Merrion Square, Dublin.

Cambrian Archæological Association. Canon C. F. Roberts, M.A., Llanddulas Rectory, Abergele (N. Wales), Capt. H. Lewis, Pentwyn, Pentyrch, Cardiff (S. Wales).

Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. G. D. Hardinge-Tyler, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.1.

British Archæological Association. Frank Lambert, Esq., M.A., " Areguipa," Grove Hill, S. Woodford, E.18.

British Record Society, Ltd. Thomas Blagg, Esq., F.S.A., 120, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.

Selborne Society (Antiquities Section). W. M. Webb, Esq., F.L.S., The Hermitage, Hanwell, W.7

Society of Genealogists of London. Mrs. Rowan, 5, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.1.

Berkshire Archæological and Architectural Society. Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A., Barkham Rectory, Wokingham.

Birmingham and Midland Institute (Archæological Section). H. M. Francis, Esq., Midland Institute, Birmingham.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society. Roland Austin, Esq., 38, Brunswick Road, Gloucester.

Buckingham, Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of. W. Bradbrook, Esq., F.R.C.S., Bletchley.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society. F. J. Allen, Esq., M.D., 8, Halifax Road, Cambridge.

Cambs. and Hunts. Archæological Society. Rev. John Griffin, Wood Walton Rectory, near Peterborough.

Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club. George Eyre Evans, Esq., Ty Tringad, Aberystwyth.

Chester & North Wales Archæological and Historical Society. Rev. R. A. Thomas, O.B.E., M.A., The College, Chester.

Cornwall, Royal Institution of. G. Penrose, Esq., Museum, Truro.
Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society. Edward Wilson, Esq., Airethwaite, Kendal.
Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society. Percy H. Currey Esq., F.R.I.B.A., 3, Market Place, Derby.
Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club. Rev. Herbert Pentin, M.A., St. Peter's Vicarage, Portland.
Essex Archæological Society. Rev. T. H. Curling, Halstead Vicarage, Essex.
Hampshire Field Club and Archæological Society. W. Dale, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., St. Margaret's, Oakmount Avenue, Southampton.
East Herts, Archæological Society. R. T. Andrews, Esq., 18, Bull Plain, Hertford.
Kent Archæological Society. Richard Cooke, Esq., The Croft, Detling, Maidstone.
Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society. G. R. Axon, Esq., 184, Hamilton Road, Longsight, Manchester.
Lancashire and Cheshire, Historic Society of. Philip Nelson, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., Beechwood, Calderstones, Liverpool.
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